



3 1761 09076119 8





Presented to the
LIBRARIES *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by

Regis College Library

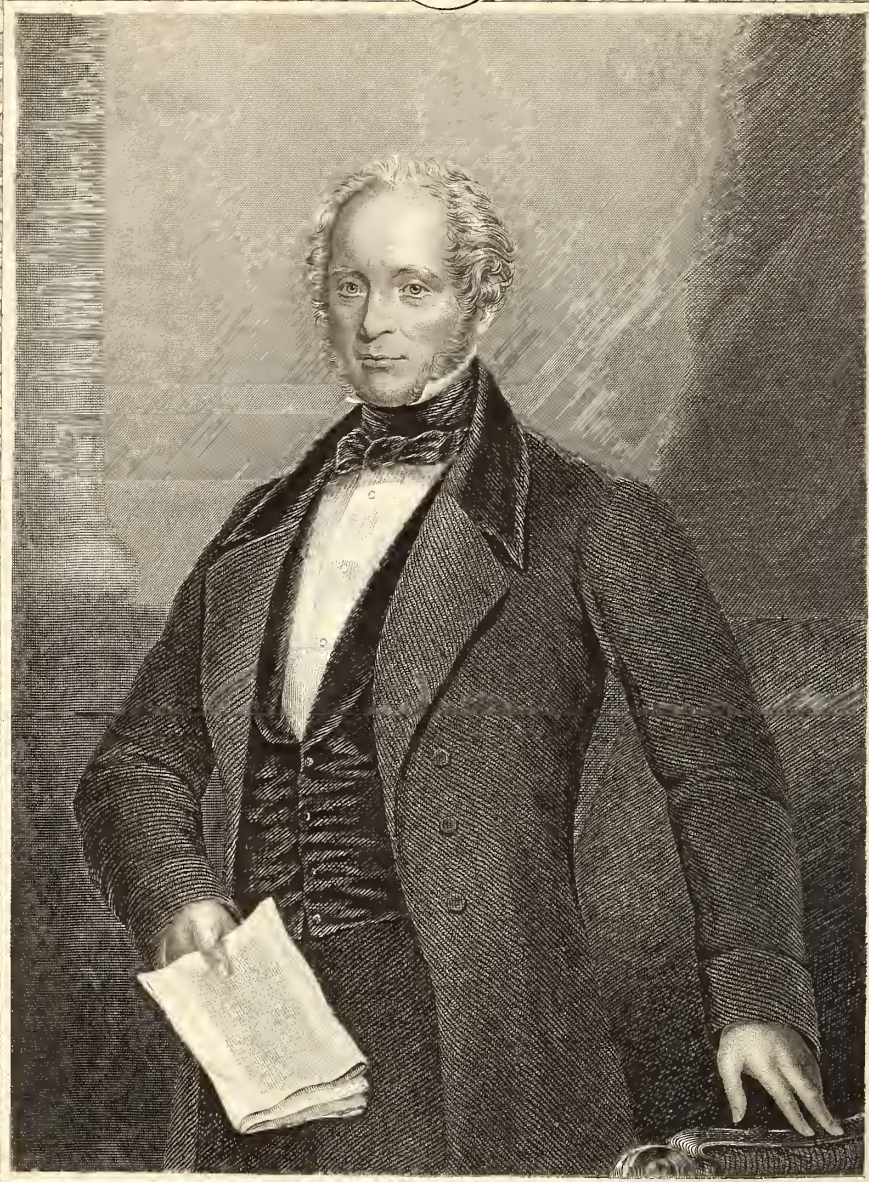
REC'D
BIBL. MAJ.
COLLEGE



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/historyofpresent02tyrr>





VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G.C.B.

DR

217

T8

v.3

REGIS
ENGL. MAJ.
COLLEGE

35863



OMER KASIM.
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
OF THE TURKISH ARMY.



CHARGE OF HEAVY CAVALRY
AT THE
BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA
OCTOBER 25, 1854



A. Hill.

H. E. Hill.

BATTLE OF EUPATORIA.

FEB 17, 1855

SEYMOUR NOW MADE A SCOTCH WITH A BATTALION OF ENGLISH AND THOUGH THE SCOTCHMAN AND THE BATTALION
BUT IN THE ACT OF FIGHTING HIS SON OR FATHERS A MOSKOW MAN, THE SCOTCHMAN AND THE BATTALION



THE BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA.

APRIL 22, 1864.

The boats of the Fleet going to the French Steamer 'Vauban' to assist in extinguishing the fire caused by the red-hot shot fired from the Russian batteries



BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA
BY THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH

THE LONDON AND NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY J. H. MASON, 15, N. Y. ST.

THE LONDON AND NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY J. H. MASON, 15, N. Y. ST.

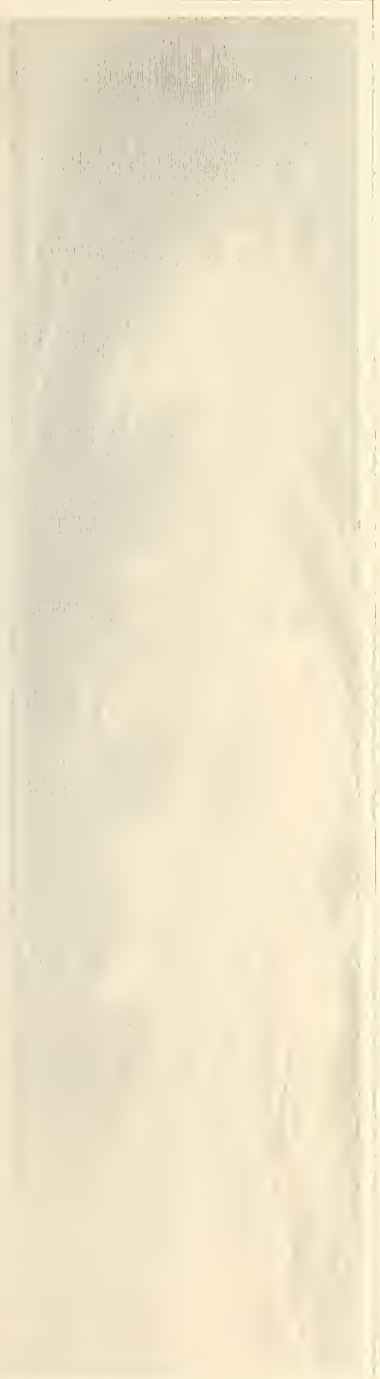
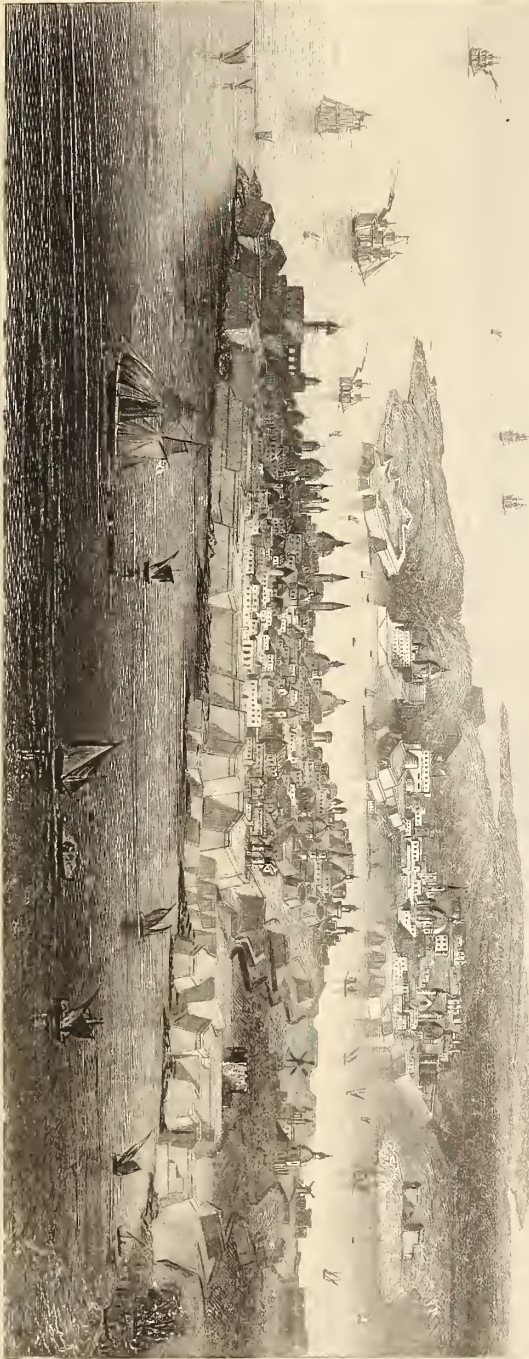
THE LONDON AND NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY J. H. MASON, 15, N. Y. ST.



GIBRALTAR.

H. BIRBY.

H. BIRBY.

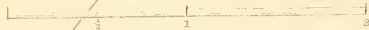


MALTA.

NOTE

After the Battle of the Alma the Allies proceeded to Sebastopol and commenced the Siege, Sept^r 26 1854. After an unparalleled defense the Malakoff Tower was taken, when the Russians began to burn the town and retreat by the Bridge of Rafts to the Northern Forts, Sept^r 8. 1855.

SCALE OF MILES



Cape Constantine

Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.Fort Constantine
200 Guns
No.Quarantine Battery
200 Guns
No.

Cape Clersonese

Lighthouse

Kerch Bay

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

Barracks

FRENCH LINE OF DEFENCE WORKS

French Landing Places, Sept 26th 1854

French Stores

Depot for French Stores & Siege Material

Ruins

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

5th DIVISION4th DIVISION3rd DIVISION2nd DIVISION1st DIVISION

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Turks

Telegraph

Mongeev of

Shourya

SANITARIUM

Submarine Telegraph from Varna.









THE
HISTORY OF THE PRESENT
WAR WITH RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT SEBASTOPOL; SKIRMISH AT THE OVENS; NEGLECT AND SUFFERINGS OF OUR TROOPS; REVOLTING CONDITION OF BALAKLAVA; AUSTRIA ENTERS INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE AND ENGLAND; CONDITIONS OF THE TREATY; OPENING OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT; DEBATE CONCERNING THE WAR; THE FOREIGN ENLISTMENT AND MILITIA BILLS; THANKS OF PARLIAMENT VOTED TO THE ARMY AND NAVY AT THE CRIMEA; ADJOURNMENT OF THE PARLIAMENT; FEARS FOR THE STATE OF OUR ARMY; ORATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON ON OPENING THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION; PROPOSED RAILWAY FROM BALAKLAVA TO THE CAMP AT SEBASTOPOL; DEPARTURE OF THE NAVVIES; SAD CONDITION OF OUR SOLDIERS AT THE CRIMEA; LETTER OF THE QUEEN COMMISERATING THE CONDITION OF HER TROOPS.

BRIGHT, and clear, and cold broke the morning of the 15th of November; the day after the storm. The prospect that presented itself was a gloomy one. The roads were lost in mud; dead horses and cattle lay about the country; and here and there might be seen the suffering soldiers carrying the body of an insensible comrade to the hospital tents. "Passing by the heavy cavalry camp," said Mr. Russell, "I saw the officers and men wading through the mud, from tent to tent, like cranes in a marsh. It would have been a strange sight for their friends. The draughts of the regiments which I met on their way out to join, looked with a curious air of disgust and horror at 'this charming paradise of the Crimea;' but they were stout young fellows, and would soon get accustomed to all the combinations of earth and

water which it is possible for natural chymistry to effect." An unimportant skirmish of pickets took place on the night of the 15th between the French and the Russians, and ended in the retirement of the latter.

The siege of Sebastopol went wearily on without making much progress. The ability of the Russian gunners,* the dogged resistance of the Russian troops, and the enormous resources of the Russian empire, had been greatly underrated. It is the fault of Englishmen that they always commence by despising the enemies whose courage and ability they at last learn to respect. It was so with regard to the Americans in the eight years' struggle for independence; it was so with the gigantic war against the first Napoleon; and it was so in this crusade against Russian domination. That the Russian soldiers are bar-

* The Paris correspondent of a leading journal observed:—"It is not, I believe, generally known, that the officer who directs the engineering works of Sebastopol is a Frenchman, General Destrim. At the period of the treaty of Tilsit, after the celebrated interview on the raft constructed on the Niemen, it is known that not only between the emperors Napoleon and Alexander the greatest cordiality prevailed, but also between the French and Russian officers who formed the suites of the monarchs. The feeling extended even to the soldiers of the two armies, and the days and nights were spent in feasting by those who had so lately been arrayed in mortal combat against each other. In this effusion of good-will and friendship, the Emperor Alexander, who seemed so fascinated by the overpowering genius of Napoleon as even to neglect the interests of his unfortunate ally, the king of Prussia, begged, as a

favour, that his imperial brother would permit a few young men of the polytechnic school to enter the service of Russia. Napoleon at once consented, and selected four of the most distinguished pupils of that celebrated establishment, whom he presented to Alexander. The young officers had just issued from the school, each with a first class number in science. Their names were Bazaire, Fabre, Potier, and Destrim. The first three died many years ago, and the last is the general of that name who has had so great a share in the construction of the fortifications of Cronstadt. He is spoken of as an engineer officer of the greatest merit, and, what is rather rare, he has a remarkable talent for poetry, united to profound mathematical knowledge. He is the author of several beautiful compositions; but his best work is said to be a translation into French verse of the fables of the Russian Lafontaine, Kriloff."

barous, ignorant, and superstitious, must be conceded; but it is equally true, that Russia is a great military power, whose strength especially lies in her capability of resistance. In the Crimean campaign, the English commanders were blinded by self-love and a proud confidence in their own talents. They permitted earthwork batteries to be thrown up around Sebastopol without interruption. They confidently believed that these works would be levelled almost as soon as our guns opened fire upon them. The result proved how much our army leaders were deceived: after the siege had continued for a month, the embrasures in the mud batteries were nearly as perfect as ever, and the guns in them had never once been wholly silenced.

A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing a month after the cannon of the allies first thundered against the granite walls and towers of Sebastopol, thus describes the appearance of the town and fortress:—"If a traveller, familiar with Sebastopol and its environs, were to take his stand on one of the heights held by our outposts, and to look down upon it knowing all that has occurred, undoubtedly one of the first impressions made would be that resulting from the little change effected in the appearance of the town and its fortifications, notwithstanding the number of shot, shell, and other destructive missiles discharged against it for more than a month past. The next thing that would attract his notice, perhaps, would be the number of earthworks and batteries erected on the south side of the town and dockyards, and on the high points as far as Careening Bay, also on various prominent positions in the town itself, and again on the north side of the roadstead and heights above. But the principal forts remain unchanged, and apparently as perfect as ever. The great Fort St. Nicholas, seen in reverse, with its stone arcades, extending in long concave lines one story above another; the lofty, but comparatively narrow stone tower of Fort Paul, with its two wings, exhibit no change. The rows of dockyard buildings, the storehouses, the loftier and more spacious buildings in the town itself, preserve their original outlines. Three buildings, from their elevation and structure, particularly attract the gaze in looking at the town. One of these, the loftiest, is crowned by a dome covered with bright lead or other shining metal; another has the appearance of a Gothic church with

several pinnacles rising from its roof; the third has the form of a Grecian temple, and, from its proportions, portico, and columns, appears to be a copy of the Parthenon. These seem to have been untouched; but the last-mentioned building exhibits, by its partly stripped roof, the effects of the late hurricane. The nearer buildings, consisting of private residences, public offices, or warehouses, show here and there an opening made by the entrance of a shot, but seldom exhibit any more extensive damage. To the left, the work of destruction is more manifest. Several lines of one-storied barracks, a considerable number of houses and other buildings—a few large, but generally of an inferior character—in their rear, are here in a state of ruin. The only works or a more imposing kind which show the effect produced upon them by the guns of the besiegers are—on the right, the Round Tower, battered by the English, and on the left, the 50-gun fort, which terminated the south end of the loopholed wall of the town, and which has been destroyed by the French. These are the only two stone works which are in a dilapidated condition. Of course the forts on the north shore of the roadstead show no change, as they have not been touched—excepting Fort Constantine at the entrance; and from the distance, although it is said to have been severely shaken and to be propped up within by timber, no alteration can be perceived. The heavy guns on its roof remain as before. The effects of the firing are manifest only in the immediate neighbourhood of those points against which the efforts of the besiegers, as well as of the besieged, have been concentrated—namely, the earthwork batteries which each antagonist has mutually raised in the course of the period which has elapsed since the 28th of September."

Skirmishes were of frequent occurrence, but they were seldom attended with results which, in so vast a struggle, could be called important. One took place on the night of the 20th of November, in which the Russians were repulsed with considerable loss by three companies of the rifle brigade, under Lieutenant Tryon. This brave soldier, after a display of remarkable courage and energy, was shot through the head, and five-and-twenty of his men were killed or wounded. The following incident was the cause of this petty encounter. In the ravine towards the left of our attack, about 300 Russians had planted themselves in

some caves, from whence they kept up an incessant fire of rifles upon our working and covering parties. It was, of course, necessary to drive the Russians from these caves, and at seven o'clock in the evening, the three companies of the rifle brigade were dispatched upon that duty. They succeeded in driving out the Russians and taking possession of the caves themselves; but they were, in turn, assailed by the enemy, whom, after a sharp contest, they compelled to retire. Lord Raglan, in a brief despatch to the English minister of war, spoke very highly of the unfortunate Lieutenant Tryon, who was, his lordship said, "considered a most promising officer, and held in the highest estimation by all." The caves which were the object of this contest, afterwards became known by the name of "the ovens."

The English army had hitherto been exposed to a full share of the usual casualties of active service in an enemy's country, but the news which reached home from the camp began gradually to assume a more serious and painful character. The heavy rains had deluged the country with mud, which frequently lay near a foot deep on the track from the camp to Balaklava. Winter brought with it the miseries that must have been foreseen, but were not provided against, and the troops suffered bitterly in consequence. The trenches were often turned into dykes, the tents were frequently flooded, the promised wooden huts for the men were not provided, and the warm clothing necessary for the preservation of men in health, was equally neglected. To these miseries the occasional pangs of hunger were added. The filthy state of the *track* from Balaklava (for, strange as it may seem, no road had been made to connect that place with the camp), rendered the passage of carts and arabas almost an impossibility. The storm of the 14th had also caused a deficiency, for the troops received their stores from our ships. The result was, that the rations delivered to the soldiers were miserably reduced; and such little comforts as tea, coffee, or sugar, were frequently not issued at all for more than a week together. So far as the coffee was concerned, it mattered little; for the berry was given out in a raw state, and the poor soldiers, who had no means of roasting it, often threw it away. On the 29th of November, the second division had no rations given them until three o'clock. Still the poor soldiers bore this privation with

unmurmuring patience. One of their captains having called his men together, told them that no rations had yet arrived, but the moment they did they should be distributed. "Ay, sir," was the reply; "you need'n't be telling us that; we've some bits of biscuit left yet."

"Disease and death," said a writer from the spot, "have been doing their work fast, especially among the new comers. Salt rations without vegetables, the constant exposure to rain and cold, constant fatigue and broken rest, and a general absence of sanitary precautions, have naturally brought on disease. The continued rain has prevented the men from lighting their fires on the ground; no attempt has been made to provide covering or cooking sheds, even of the roughest description; and, in instances without number, the men have been content to eat their salt pork as issued, in a *raw* state, with their biscuit. They have a long distance to go for their fuel, and they can only then obtain a stunted brushwood, which is itself, of course, in any but an inflammable condition. The water, which is found in small streams down the ravines, is muddy, and not, at any rate in appearance, very wholesome. In the same wet clothes, with the same wet blanket which he has worn round him in the trenches, the soldier has to lie down on the wet ground of his tent. Where are all the boasted improvements of science, where the ingenious contrivances, the increased care, which were to mark our progress and diminish the evils of war almost to the mere injuries inflicted on the battle-field? Our losses in the field have been great, but greater still have resulted from sickness; and sickness, very much of which might have been prevented by due precaution."

The result of this state of things may be imagined. The pinched and starving soldiers fell victims to sickness, and the dreaded cholera once again attacked their thinned ranks. This fearful pest broke out again in the British army on the night of the 28th of November, and the number of deaths arising from it, and other sources of sickness, averaged not less than sixty each day. During one night, as many as eighty-five perished.

"As to Balaklava itself," wrote Mr. Russell, "words cannot describe its filth, its horrors, its hospitals, its burials, its dead and dying Turks, its crowded lanes, its noisome sheds, its beastly purlieus, or its

decay. All the pictures ever drawn of plague and pestilence, from the work of the inspired writer who chronicled the woes of infidel Egypt, down to the narratives of Boccaccio, Defoe, or Moltke, fall short of individual 'bits' of disease and death which any one may see in half-a-dozen places during half-an-hour's walk in Balaklava. In spite of all our efforts, the dying Turks have made of every lane and street a *cloaca*, and the forms of human suffering which meet the eye at every turn, and once were wont to shock us, have now made us callous, and have even ceased to attract passing attention. Raise up the piece of matting, or coarse rug, which hangs across the doorway of some miserable house, from within which you hear wailing and cries of pain and prayers to the prophet, and you will see, in one spot and in one instant, a mass of accumulated woes that will serve you with nightmares for a lifetime. The dead, laid out as they died, are lying side by side with the living; and the latter present a spectacle beyond all imagination. The commonest accessories of a hospital are wanting; there is not the least attention paid to decency or cleanliness; the stench is appalling; the fetid air can barely struggle out to taint the atmosphere, save through the chinks in the walls and roofs; and, for all I can observe, these men die without the least effort being made to save them. There they lie, just as they were let gently down on the ground by the poor fellows (their comrades) who brought them on their backs from the camp with the greatest tenderness, but who are not allowed to remain with them. The sick appear to be tended by the sick, and the dying by the dying."

The siege was at a standstill; but preparations were being made for renewing it on a more tremendous scale than ever. The enemy also laboured with indefatigable energy. They were incessantly constructing fresh works in the rear of those which it cost the allies so much labour to destroy. Battering the walls of this tremendous fortification seemed useless, if not worse than useless. "The fortress," wrote a spectator, "is actually *getting stronger under our cannonade*; and if that cannonade continues (as it is likely to do) for another two months, Sebastopol will be impregnable." Throughout the camps the opinion spread, that if Sebastopol was taken, it must be by assault; and it was also felt, that the longer that assault was delayed, the greater would be the

sacrifice of the allies before it. In the meantime the Russians made frequent night sorties, in which they were almost invariably far the greatest sufferers. On the night of the 29th of November, the Russians made a desperate sortie. Their intention was to destroy, if possible, the centre battery of the most advanced parallel, which, though it only mounted ten guns, was in a position which enabled it to do considerable mischief. The French pickets in front of the works used to remain each night within ten yards of the Russian pickets, thrown out to guard the flagstaff battery. A little before midnight the French picket heard a more than usual amount of bustle going on in the flagstaff battery. One man crept stealthily forward and discerned through the darkness a body of Russians, between two and three thousand strong, forming in column to the rear of the battery. On returning he was seen by the enemy, and fired at. The Russians then began to advance in the direction of the French earthwork. The French, however, were on the alert, and, though not more than 700 strong, they mounted the parapet of the battery and awaited the assault. As the Russians advanced, the foremost ranks fired; but the volley was so ill-directed, that not a shot took effect. The French calmly taking aim from the parapet, replied with three volleys, which told with murderous effect upon the Russian ranks. The latter wavered, and the French, rushing from the battery, charged with the bayonet. The Russians rallied and checked the shock with a volley which would have been terribly destructive, had it been more steadily directed. Fortunately, it did but little mischief; and before the Russians could fire again, the French bayonets were upon them. A desperate hand-to-hand struggle succeeded: it lasted for ten minutes; when the enemy fled back to the town in confusion. The French pursued them to the very ditches of their batteries (it was not safe to go further), and then returned to the shelter of their own trenches.

As if to revenge themselves for the defeat they had experienced, the Russians then opened a tremendous cannonade against both the French and English lines. The allies, who were safely under cover, never returned a shot, and in about half-an-hour the Russians gave over wasting their powder. On the 2nd of December they tried a sortie, at six in the morning,

against the English. The object was to obtain possession of the cover or "ovens" we have already mentioned. In the darkness, about 1,500 Russian infantry contrived to approach, undiscovered, to within fifty yards of the position. The alarm was then given; instantly our men were in position, and a constant fire was poured upon the advancing Russians from under cover of the ruins and broken ground. The enemy did not return the fire, but strove to close with the place and drive our pickets from their shelter. About a hundred succeeded in the attempt, but were soon driven out again by the steady and appalling fire of their sheltered foes. The Russians hesitated for a moment, and then again returned to the charge, only again to retreat in disorder. Our pickets advanced upon them with the bayonet, and made a few prisoners, but were soon compelled to abandon the pursuit, as the Russian reserves and batteries were close at hand.

Very melancholy, all the while, was the news received in England concerning the condition of our brave soldiers at the Crimea. It was a painful task to read all the letters that arrived from the camp and were published in the daily papers. One officer said, in speaking of the men: "Their feet are never dry; some of them have no soles to their shoes, and no socks; others

no shirts; and I would defy any one who saw the regiments leave England, to recognise the careworn, half-starved skeletons of which they now consist. We are encamped on a clayey piece of ground, which is now mud up to the knees; and the tents are as wet within as on the outside." The same writer relates that, going in a case of illness to the medical department in the camp, he received a few drops of tincture of opium in a quart-bottle without a cork. "It seems quite like murder," says another officer, "sending fresh troops out to this climate at this time of the year." As to the roads, they were covered with such a depth of mud, that the attenuated horses, exhausted with drawing the heavy carts, frequently fell dead in the slush they were vainly attempting to get through. No attempt was made to bury them; the harness was merely taken off, and the carcass left to putrefy. Some raw recruits, who had lately arrived, suffered so much, and died so rapidly, from the frightful life of hardship and exposure they had to encounter, that Lord Raglan humanely ordered that they should not be sent into the trenches until they were acclimatised.

For a time we must leave the scene of actual war, and record the proceedings of diplomaey. Austria,* who had so long held aloof from the allies, thought fit to enter

* We take from the columns of the *Daily News* the following interesting and condensed account of the empire, government, and resources of this German state, which exercises so much influence on the affairs of Europe:—"Austria differs from every other state in Europe—perhaps in the world. It is a government without a nationality. The population numbers between thirty-seven and thirty-eight millions, of which the governing race (the Germans) do not exceed 7,000,000. The greater number of people are Slavonians, 17,000,000; next the Magyars, 5,000,000, and the Italians, 5,000,000; Wallachians, 2,000,000, and the remainder consists of Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Gypsies. These people have not one religion, one language, nor one literature. The bulk of them—26,000,000—are Roman Catholics; 7,000,000 belong to the Greek church; the Protestants may be 3,000,000, and the other 2,000,000 are Jews and sectarians. Though German is the language of the ruling classes, it is not generally understood by the multitude of the Slavonians, Magyars, or Italians, most of whom hate it as the tongue of a foreigner and oppressor, and despise it, believing it to be less musical, soft, sonorous, and refined than their own. The literature of the ruling classes is not the literature of the Slavonians, the Magyars, or Italians. Efforts have been made to incorporate it with their literatures; instruction has been limited to the knowledge it contains; education is given in it; but the result has been only a little spasmodic life, more like a galvanised corpse than the stately vigour imparted

by the spark sent from heaven. Not being one by literature, language, religion, or race, these several peoples are bound together only by a system of government. One prominent feature of its financial system, and which has been, if it be not still, the great hidden source of the strength of the government, is the large mass of property which the imperial family owns in every one of the provinces except Italy. With matrimonial crowns and dukedoms, it inherited all the land that belonged to the several families whose dominions were united to the crown, and comparatively little of this has been at any time alienated. Though in some finance accounts the income of the state domains is put down at £300,000 a year, this sum represents only a very small part of the amount which the government actually disposes of. Some mystery is thrown over these matters in Austria; but in the early part of the century the domains yielded more than a fourth part of the whole revenue of the state. Notwithstanding an immense increase of taxation, and the abolition of some tolls and other dues paid by the tenants of the crown estates, these domains still supply a considerable part of the revenue. As in the case of the cost of collecting our customs, a great portion of the revenue of the domains never makes its appearance in the exchequer. It goes to defray the government expenses and the expense of management in the province in which the domains are situated; it pays numerous servants and dependents; and thus the property which the government pos-

into a treaty with them. This treaty was not dictated by any enlarged motive, but by a cautious desire to provide for her own safety. The position of Austria had been extremely equivocal, and she had incurred the anger of the Emperor of Russia, as well as the suspicion of the government and people of England. Russia desired her complete neutrality; the Western Powers desired her assistance; and she had complied with neither. Steadily refraining from adding her military power to that of the allies, for the purpose of speedily terminating the struggle, she yet frowned, or seemed to frown, upon Russia; and her ministers congratulated the allies upon their victory at the Alma. Austria wisely calculated that, at some future day, Russia would have a debt of vengeance to settle with her; and, to protect herself against such a casualty, she entered into a treaty with France and

England—not, be it observed, to promote their interests, but to protect her own.

Actuated by these motives, Austria entered, on the 2nd of December, into a triple alliance with England and France, for the ostensible purpose of checking the aggressive spirit of Russia, and bringing about such a state of things as should result in restoring tranquillity to Europe. Prussia—so greatly interested in the struggle—stood timidly aloof; and Frederick William, its sovereign, continued to profess that the restoration of peace was the object of his most earnest solicitude. Prevaricating as his conduct had been, he was probably sincere in this statement, as he had frequently expressed his belief, that in the event of a war between Russia and Germany, the heaviest blows would fall on Prussia. The King of Prussia's sentiments are clearly expressed in the following passage from his

speeches in each province, supplies it with a large portion of the power which it exercises from a common centre to keep the whole obedient to its will. Independent of the domains, the revenue of Austria, gathered from the taxes, now amounts to about £22,000,000—a small sum to be paid by 37,000,000 people, compared to the £60,000,000 levied in France, or the nearly equal sum levied on 28,000,000 of people in the United Kingdom. The actual revenue in Austria is, however, a great increase on its former revenue. The average of three years prior to 1848, was £16,000,000, and the average of the last three years nearly £21,000,000. One consequence of the revolution of 1848 has been an immense increase of government expenditure. The increase of revenue from increased taxation, large though it be, has not equalled the increase of expenditure. Since 1848, including the expense of that year, the expenditure has exceeded the revenue by nearly £30,000,000, or at the rate of nearly £5,000,000 a year. Nor is there much prospect of its increasing in wealth and power. All the land, all the means of communication, nearly all the sources of enterprise, are in the hands of the government and the nobility. Manufactures are all patronised, and commerce of all kinds is licensed and controlled. The first step towards improved agriculture is an increasing demand for its productions. Hence the growth of a manufacturing and town population not only enriches a nation by its own labours, but enriches it doubly by stimulating the agriculturist to activity. Now the town population of the whole empire of Austria scarcely amounts to 3,000,000, and of these a fourth are to be found in Italy. Besides Vienna, the only towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants are Prague, Buda and Pesth, and Milan, not one of which is flourishing. The commerce of Austria is, for so large an empire, and such a numerous population, insignificant. The value of its imports is about £14,000,000, and of its exports, £12,000,000, making together £30,000,000, or less than one-third of the value of our exports. It has seaports, and its shipping amounts to about 600 vessels, of a tonnage less than 200,000. In a very extensive terri-

tory, embracing different distances, yielding almost every useful vegetable product of Europe, abounding in excellent timber, rich in minerals, containing some coal, Austria has all the natural elements of great prosperity. Nor are her people—the lively, intelligent Italians; the steady, thinking, intellectual Germans; the acute Slavonians, the noble Magyars—deficient in the qualities which make a nation great. They have natural abilities equal to any portion of the human family, and their home is fixed in the fairest portion of Europe. But a government having no sympathies with any part of the people, constructed on the principle of governing the whole by using the power it has in each province to constrain every other—having no confidence in any, mistrustful and jealous—suppressing or regulating every natural growth lest it should split the cumbrous fabric to pieces—limiting the press, limiting education, and limiting religion and knowledge by the narrow view of what may serve its own interest—suffices to stifle skill and stop the natural progress to wealth. It keeps all central Europe in a comparative condition of ignorance, of want, and of poverty. With natural resources almost infinitely small compared to Austria, our 28,000,000 of people place in the hands of their government a power, as measured by its revenue, threefold greater than that of Austria, and capable of a large increase, while the power of Austria is already stretched to the utmost. Of the army of Austria, numerous as it is—amounting to not less, in all, than 400,000 men—we shall only say that it is nearly all required for internal purposes, and to guard the frontier. The complex nature of the state makes it rather powerful at home than formidable to other states. It could easily put down the insurrection at Vienna, for that was a movement of only a portion of the metropolis, while all the nobility of all the provinces, except Hungary, from whose dependents the soldiers are taken, were all in favour of the government. Their interests were bound up with it; they control the population in every district; and, united, they give it great power in comparison with the capital, or with any single part of the Austrian dominions.”

speech on the opening of the Prussian chambers, on Thursday, the last day of November:—"A bloody conflict has broken out between three powerful members of the family of European states. Our fatherland is not yet affected; I have fresh occasion to hope that the basis of a further understanding will soon, perhaps, be obtained. Closely united with Austria and the rest of Germany, I shall continue to look upon it as my task to plead for peace, the recognition of the independence of foreign states, and moderation. Should I subsequently be compelled to add force to this attitude, Prussia and my faithful people will bear their inevitable burdens with resignation, and know how to meet such eventualities. The army shall be made ready for war."

The treaty between Austria and the Western Powers was signed at Vienna on the 2nd of December, and the ratifications were exchanged at the same city on the 14th. It consisted of seven articles, the sense of which is as follows:—

Art. 1. The contracting parties (*i. e.*, the Queen of England, the Emperor of France, and the Emperor of Austria) claimed the right of proposing such conditions as they might judge necessary for the general interests of Europe; and they engaged, mutually and reciprocally, not to enter into and arrangement with the court of Russia without having first deliberated thereupon in common.

Art. 2 declared that the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Austrian troops, in virtue of the treaty between Austria and Turkey, should not interfere with the free movement of the Anglo-French or Ottoman armies upon those territories against the military forces or the territory of Russia. It added, that a commission should be formed at Vienna between the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, and Great Britain (to which commission Turkey should also be invited to send a plenipotentiary), for the purpose of regulating every question relating to the exceptional state of the principalities.

Art. 3 provided that, in case of war breaking out between Austria and Russia,

* These four points are described in full at page 152, Vol. IV. It may be convenient to repeat them here in an abbreviated form:—

1. That the protectorate exercised by Russia over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia be discontinued.

2. That the navigation of the Danube, at its mouth, be freed from all obstacles.

the three contracting sovereigns should mutually enter into an offensive and defensive alliance; and each provide such an amount of military and naval forces as should be determined upon by subsequent arrangements.

Art. 4 arranged that, in the event of the alliance contemplated by the preceding article taking place, the contracting sovereigns should not entertain any proposition for peace, on the part of the Russian court, without having come to an understanding thereupon between themselves.

Art. 5 declared that, unless the re-establishment of a general peace were assured in the course of the year, the contracting sovereigns would deliberate, without delay, upon effectual means for obtaining the object of their alliance.

Art. 6 stated, that "Great Britain, Austria, and France, will jointly communicate the present treaty to the court of Prussia, and will, with satisfaction, receive its accession thereto, in case it should promise its co-operation for the accomplishment of the common object." The seventh article merely referred to the ratification of the treaty.

This treaty was communicated to the Prussian government; but the king still stood aloof, and declined to join the triple alliance. The treaty was correctly regarded less as an immediate step to an early peace than as a preparation for a more efficacious war. The Prussian sovereign was well aware of this, and seemed resolved, if possible, to avoid war, even at the expense of a dangerous isolation. The Prussian government had never ceased to labour for peace; and at its exhortation the czar had, on the 28th of November, declared an ambiguous acceptance of the FOUR POINTS,* as a ground from which to commence negotiations for a cessation of the war. The King of Prussia, besides being acted upon by his own ardent desire for peace, was said to be surrounded by a party devoted to the interests of the Emperor of Russia. Though favourable to Russia, the Prussian monarch was anxious to remain well with the allies. For this purpose he sent, during the month of December, a diplomatist or envoy-extraordi-

3. That the treaty of 1841 be revised in the interest of the balance of power in Europe.

4. That Russia give up her claim to exercise an official protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte; and that France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia lend their assistance to obtain from the latter a confirmation of the religious privileges of its Christian subjects.

nary, on an amicable errand to the courts of England and France. Herr von Usedom, who visited this country, seems to have been dispatched with the object of learning, as much as possible, the intentions of our government and the disposition of our people, and to see if there was any probability of England's being induced to adopt the pacific conduct of Prussia in reference to the northern despot. In this country and in France, the proceedings of Prussia were viewed with feelings varying between anger and disgust. A general impression existed, that if Prussia had, from the first, made common cause with the other great powers, Russia must at once have yielded, and the horrors of war would have been avoided. We confess to a doubt that this happy conclusion would have followed.

We have just mentioned that the czar had stated he would accept the four points as a basis for the consideration of peace. In pursuance of this idea, the following note had been addressed, by Count Nesselrode, to the Russian minister at the court of Prussia. It is probable that the object of Russia, in this proceeding, was not so much a sincere desire for peace as the hope of inducing the great German states to observe a neutrality during the war.

"St. Petersburg, Oct. 25th (Nov. 6th.)

"M. le Baron,—The information which we receive from every side proves to us that, at the present moment, the German governments are pretty nearly all pre-occupied with one and the same apprehension,—that of seeing a rupture, occasioned by the eastern affair, break out between the two great powers of Germany, which may endanger the peace of their common country, and the existence even of the Germanic confederation. Faithful to the policy which he has pursued from the commencement of this deplorable complication, and desirous of circumscribing the disastrous consequences within the narrowest possible limits, the emperor, our august master, wishes in the present conjuncture, and as far as in him lies, to preserve Germany from the scourge with which she would be threatened in such an event. Consequently you are authorised, M. le Baron, to declare to the Prussian cabinet that the emperor is disposed to take part in any negotiations which may have for their object the re-establishment of peace, and for which the four undermentioned propositions may serve as a point of departure.

"These propositions are as follows:—

"1. A common guarantee by the five powers of the religious and civil rights of the Christian population of the Ottoman empire, without distinction of worship.

"2. A protectorate of the principalities, exercised in common by the five powers, on the same conditions as our treaties with the Porte have stipulated in their favour.

"3. The revision of the treaty of 1841. Russia will not oppose its abolition, if the sultan, the principal party interested, consents to it.

"4. The free navigation of the Danube, which exists of right, and which Russia has never had any intention of interrupting.

"This determination is founded, not unreasonably, on the supposition that the Western Powers will faithfully fulfil the engagement which they have contracted in the face of Europe, to assure the future of the Christian population of the Ottoman empire—that their religious and civil rights shall be placed henceforth under the guarantee of all the powers, and that so the principal object which Russia has had in view in the present war shall be attained. If the sentiments which have dictated to his majesty the present declaration are appreciated in Germany, as we have a right to suppose they will be, we think we may indulge in the hope that the confederation, united on the same ground, and entirely reassured as to the German interests engaged in this quarrel, will profit by its unanimity to throw its weight into the balance of Europe in favour of a peace, for which Austria and Prussia have spontaneously presented to us, in the four points, a basis which would satisfy them completely.

"If, on the contrary, there is any wish to make use of the union—maintained once more by the care of Russia—to put forward new conditions incompatible in substance as well as in form with his dignity, the emperor does not doubt but that the states of the confederation will reject all such pretensions, from whatever side they may come, as contrary to the sentiments of good faith with which they are animated, as well as to the true interests of Germany. It is a neutrality maintained with firmness and perseverance, such as has been proclaimed since the origin of this contest, that the emperor thinks he has a right, in all justice, to demand from her, in return for the deference with which he has received the

wishes which have been addressed to him in her name.

“Accept, &c.,
“DE NESSELRODE.”

About ten days after the date of this note, the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg was informed that the Russian government was inclined to accept the four points without the proposed modifications. This conciliatory policy did not, however, prevent Austria from entering into the treaty of the 2nd of December with the Western Powers.

We must turn now to the political proceedings connected with the war, which took place at home. The English parliament was opened by her majesty on Tuesday, the 12th of December. The speech, read by the queen from the throne, was brief, and scarcely rose to the dignity of the events then transacting in Europe. She said she had called the lords and gentlemen composing the parliament together, that they might take such measures as would enable her to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour and effect. She alluded to the victories already obtained in the Crimea, to the hearty co-operation of the French troops, and to the circumstance that, together with the Emperor of the French, she had concluded a treaty of alliance with the Emperor of Austria, from which she anticipated important advantages to the common cause. She added, she rejoiced to observe the general prosperity of her subjects remained uninterrupted.

Upon the address in reply to her majesty's speech, followed that debate in the House of Lords, to which, at page 269, we have already referred. Neither house of parliament seemed satisfied with the proceedings of the government, or with the condition of our troops in the Crimea; but most men withheld their opposition, that they might not, by distracting the attention of the government, weaken its power. In the upper house, the Earl of Derby was the most serious opponent of the government, and he upbraided the whole conduct of the ministry as tardy and short-sighted. He doubted the sincerity of Austria. “That state,” he said, “has been playing a dangerous and not very dignified game, and has played it with considerable dexterity up to the present time. She may now feel it her interest and safety to throw off that doubtful mask she has hitherto worn,—throw herself frankly into the arms of the

allies, and join in a sincere confederacy with the Western Powers.” He, however, doubted that England had derived any benefit from the protracted engagements with which she had endeavoured to secure the co-operation of Austria and Prussia; and he doubted that any advantage would result from the treaty that had been lately entered into. The earl, however, declared that he would not place any obstacle in the path of the ministry. “I think,” he added in conclusion, “I am speaking the sentiments of the country, and of my own friends and supporters, when I say that, so far from grudging them any supplies—any support which is necessary for the successful prosecution of this great and important war, it will be the country which will urge forward the ministers to spare no pains, to omit no exertion, to make every sacrifice and every effort for the purpose of securing a just and honourable peace, in consequence of a successful and vigorously prosecuted war. And to those gallant men who are at the present moment, under circumstances of considerable difficulty, gallantly fighting the battles of their country, and who have exhibited indomitable perseverance and a noble courage under all the circumstances of difficulty and discouragement to which they have been exposed,—to them I would say, ‘Yet a little more patience, a little more courage, a little more perseverance: the end is not yet; but the end is approaching; the eyes of the country are upon you, and the united hearts of your countrymen are with you; their sympathies are with you in your unparalleled exertions; men, women, and children are collecting stores to alleviate your distress, to minister to your comfort, and to assuage your sufferings: fresh reinforcements are at hand; and your unflinching courage and perseverance, during your obstinate resistance, shall serve as a model to them, exciting them to emulate your glory, and prove themselves worthy of being your fellow-soldiers. Go on, I would say, in the gallant course which you have commenced, and believe that the hearts of your countrymen are with you; that there is a tear for those who have fallen in their country's service; and, when you return from this expedition—which, with all its difficulties, with all its glories, and with all its labours, must and will be successful—your example will inspire others; and you will be the men who will have brought peace to Europe, and maintained untar-

nished the honour of the British flag,—who will have defended the weak from the power of the oppressor, and who will deserve and receive the blessings of England and of the world.”

The Duke of Newcastle admitted there had been some shortcomings on the part of the government, which he hoped in the future progress of the war would be avoided. He had reasons for doubting if our troops had gone to the Crimea at an earlier period, whether they would have escaped the dreadful visitation of cholera which overtook them in Bulgaria. He admitted the government had underrated the military resources of Russia. With respect to reinforcements of our own army in the Crimea, he said that 20,000 had, since the month of June, been sent out from this country to Lord Raglan. The duke added, that the whole number of men which, from the time of the commencement of hostilities up to the close of the year, had been sent out, amounted to more than 53,000. This, he added, was an army raised almost on a peace establishment, and he doubted whether, on any former occasion, so many British troops had been sent out within the same space of time to the command of any English general. To refute the accusation of negligence, the duke brought forward the following statements:—“With regard to the provision of ordnance, sixty-two position guns were sent out at the commencement. Two complete battering trains of forty-two guns, with an enormous supply of shot and shell; seven 9-pounders, with two troops of horse artillery, were also sent; and I believe, as I have said before, on no former occasion was the same amount of ordnance supplied to any British army. The small-arm ammunition sent out amounts, on the whole, to the enormous quantity of 22,933,000 rounds, of which 18,000,000 rounds were for Minié arms. From Malta, besides what I have mentioned, there have been sent forty-two large guns and mortars, 9,000 shells, and something like 27,000 round shot, principally of a very large size.” With respect to necessary winter clothing for the troops, the duke declared, that but for the great calamity which befel the *Prince*, the whole

army would have been supplied before any suffering could have arisen. The duke further stated, that the troops, so far from being half-starved, as had been asserted, were well fed. “I admit,” he exclaimed, “that accidents have occurred; I admit that everything has not been perfect; but this I say—and I say it fearlessly—that no army ever was better fed than this army has been; and that is universally admitted by all officers and men with whom there has been any communication.”

In the House of Commons, the debate on the address to the queen was long, earnest, and interesting; but it would lead us too far from our immediate subject, or perhaps too protractedly into it, to dwell upon that debate in these pages. One passage, however, from the speech of Lord John Russell attracted much attention, especially upon the continent, and we will extract it as serving to throw a stronger light on the policy of Austria and her intentions, as expressed—or, rather, as half-concealed—in the treaty of the 2nd of December. “The position of Austria with regard to this country had been adverted to. He had never been satisfied that Austria had pursued that course which her duty to Europe ought to have induced her to take. But a cautious power like Austria was not likely to forget that her danger from a war with Russia was greater than that of England or France, neither of which powers had any reason to apprehend an invasion of its own territory. The Emperor of Russia had kept up an immense army upon a peace establishment, and after one or two victories upon the frontier, the road to Vienna would be open to him. It was not until Austria had increased her military force, and made other necessary military preparations, that she took the first step in concert with the allies. Austria had now advanced a step further than she had gone before, but she had not even yet gone the length of saying, that if before the end of the year peace were not made with Russia, she would be a belligerent.* She had only gone this length—that if she should be at war with Russia, a treaty offensive and defensive should, *ipso facto*, exist between Austria,

* A large class of sanguine politicians, especially upon the continent, confidently predicted that it was the intention of Austria to take the field with the allies at the beginning of the year 1855, unless before that time the Emperor of Russia accepted the conditions of peace proposed to him. The fifth article of the treaty of the 2nd of December led them

to believe so; but that article only bound Austria to deliberate, without delay, with the Western Powers as to what was best to be done to secure the object they all desired. Between *deliberation* and *action* there is a broad distinction. Austria was not required to deliberate: she had done that too long already; and she was too cautious to promise to do anything more.

England, and France. She had likewise agreed, that before the end of the year she would take into further consideration what steps she would be prepared to take with respect to terms of peace with Russia. Now, he understood the meaning of that article—certainly not containing anything very precise in itself—to be, that if England and France propose conditions of peace, which should be in conformity with the four bases, and that Russia should refuse to assent to them in a treaty of peace, then Austria would no longer hesitate, but be part of the alliance defensive and offensive. He did not wish to overstate the engagement in any way, and he quite agreed that Austria might still, at the last moment, say, ‘that those terms of yours, those four bases, *explained in a way I did not expect, would reduce Russia too much, and diminish too greatly her weight in Europe; and she can never be expected to agree to them.*’ Such might be the language of Austria, without any breach of faith, and she would then be released from the alliance; but his belief and expectation were, that she did concur in those bases which were necessary for the security of Turkey; and if Russia did not consent to a treaty of peace founded on those bases, then, in the next campaign, the forces of Austria would be joined with those of England and of France.”

On the termination of the debate, the address was agreed to; the expected political storm had passed over, and, for the time at least, the government was safe. The nation felt that its affairs were in a critical condition; misgivings, and in many quarters misgivings of a serious character, were felt as to the state of our army in the Crimea, and the final result of the expedition. Still it was deemed better not to place difficulties in the way of the government, but to give it every chance of providing better for the army in future, and of winning through that army the success that England not only desired but demanded. The imperfections of ministers at home, or of generals abroad, were overlooked in the more immediate desire of every one to bring the struggle to a successful termination.

The sitting of parliament was a very brief one, as its members speedily separated for

the enjoyment of Christmas. The business transacted before its adjournment consisted of the passing of two bills in reference to the war. The first was to enable the queen to enlist foreigners to serve in her armies. This was a power formerly vested in the crown, but of which it had been deprived, in 1794, by the natural and commendable jealousy of parliament. The Duke of Newcastle, in bringing forward the bill, made the following explanatory observations:—“It has always been found desirable to enlist foreigners, especially at the commencement of a war, on account of the difficulty which, in the first instance, must exist in this country, which has no immediate system for bringing into the field a large and trained force. The military systems give much greater facilities in that respect. We have no landwehr, as in Prussia, nor any other system by which men are trained for a certain number of years, and then returned into the civil community, always available with a sufficient knowledge of the art of war, and easily to be called together for further training in the event of hostilities occurring. Having no such system here, all that can be done when war breaks out, is to raise as many recruits as possible, who are of course completely raw, without any previous training; and, except in cases of emergency, it is not desirable that troops so raised should be sent out of the country without, at least, six or seven months’ training. That is necessary, not because they would not fight well, for I believe that British troops would fight as well on the day they are raised as they would after six months’ training; but on account of the advantage of discipline and habits of body requisite to be imparted by drill and the training of military life.”

The government proposed that any foreign troops which might be raised should be formed into separate battalions apart from the queen’s regiments, although by the act of 1837, permission was given for the admission of one foreigner to every fifty men in English regiments. The number of foreign soldiers to be drilled and trained at any one time in this country, was not to exceed 15,000. After great opposition, the foreign enlistment bill was passed and became law,* the number of troops to be

* On the debate preceding the third reading of this bill, Mr. Cobden, who had acquired much unpopularity by his steady opposition to the war policy, gave, in a review of the question, his reasons why

England should never have engaged in the war, and why she should seize the first opportunity of concluding an honourable peace. The reader may feel an interest in a statement of some of that gentle-

raised being limited to 10,000. As the English government did not proceed to act

man's opinions on this subject; for, be Mr. Cobden on this point right or wrong, he is unquestionably actuated by motives of the purest honour, and possessed of a powerfully comprehensive intellect, and a richly stored mind. "We are placed," said Mr. Cobden, "to the extreme west of a continent, numbering some 200,000,000 inhabitants, and the theory is, that there is great danger from a growing power which threatens to overrun the continent, to inflict upon it another deluge like that of the Goths and Vandals, and to eclipse the light of civilisation by the darkness of barbarism. But, if that theory be correct, does it not behove the people of the continent to take some part in pushing back that deluge of barbarism? I presume that it is not intended that England should be the Anarcharsis Cloots of Europe; but that, at all events, if we are to fight for everybody, those at least who are in the greatest danger will join with us in resisting the common enemy. I am convinced, however, that all this declamation about the independence of Europe and the defence of civilisation, will presently disappear."—"Why should we seek greater guarantees and stricter engagements from Russia than those with which Austria and Prussia are content? They lie on the frontier of this great empire, and they have more to fear from its power than we can have: no Russian invasion can touch us until it has passed over them; and is it likely, if we fear that western Europe will be overrun by Russian barbarism, that Austria and Prussia, who would be the first to suffer, would not be as sensible to that danger as we can be? Ought we not rather to take it as a proof that we have somewhat exaggerated the danger which threatens western Europe, when we find that Austria and Prussia are not so alarmed at it as we are? They are not greatly concerned about the danger, I think; or else they would join with England and France in a great battle to push it back."—"I hear many people say, we will take Sebastopol, and then we will treat for peace. I am not going to say that you cannot take Sebastopol; I might admit, for the sake of argument, that you can. You may occupy ten miles of territory in the Crimea for any time; you may build there a small town, you may carry provisions and reinforcements there, for you have the command of the sea; but while you do all this you will have no peace with Russia. Nobody who knows the history of Russia, can think for a moment that you are going permanently to occupy any portion of the Russian territory, and, at the same time, to be at peace with the empire. But, admitting your power to do all this, is the object which you seek to accomplish worth the sacrifice which it will cost you? That is the question. Can anybody doubt that the capture of Sebastopol will cost you a prodigious sacrifice of valuable lives; and, I ask you, is the object to be gained worth that sacrifice?"—"I utterly deny that Sebastopol is the stronghold of Russian power. It is simply an outwork and visible sign of the power in Russia; but by destroying Sebastopol, you do not by any means destroy the Russian power. You do not destroy or touch Russian power unless you can permanently occupy some portion of its territory, disorder its industry, or disturb its government. If you can strike at its capital,—if you can take away some of its immense fertile plains, or take possession of those vast rivers which empty themselves into the

upon this bill by the enlistment of foreigners, it was imagined that the measure was pro-

Black Sea, then, indeed, you strike at Russian power; but suppose you take Sebastopol, and make peace to-morrow, in ten years, I tell you, the Russian government will come to London for a loan to build it up again stronger than before. And as for destroying those old green-wood ships, you only do the emperor a service by giving him an opportunity for building fresh ones."—"Then comes the question, would the destruction of Sebastopol give security to the Turks? The Turkish empire will only be safe when its internal condition is secure, and you are not securing the internal condition of Turkey, while you are at war; on the contrary, I believe you are now doing more to demoralise the Turks and destroy their government, than you could possibly have done in time of peace. If you wish to secure Turkey you must reform its government, purify its administration, unite its people, and draw out its resources; and then, perhaps, it will not present the spectacle of misery and poverty it does now. Why, you yourselves have recognised the existing state of Turkey to be so bad, that you intend to make a treaty which shall bind the five powers to a guarantee for the better treatment of the Christians. But have you considered well the extent of the principle in which you are embarking? You contemplate making a treaty by which the five powers are to do that together which Russia has hitherto claimed to do herself. What sort of conclusion do you think disinterested and impartial critics—people in the United States, for instance—will think of such a policy? They must come to the conclusion, that we have been rather wrong in our dealings with Russia, if we have gone to war with her to prevent her doing that very thing which we ourselves propose to do in conjunction with the other powers. If so much mischief has sprung from the protectorate of one power, how much more will Turkey be to be pitied when the protectorate of the five powers is inaugurated."

Mr. Cobden considered the restoration of Turkey to an independent state, on the termination of the war, was the great difficulty of Europe, and he vehemently denied that the Turks were advancing in civilisation. He added—"Why, the testimony borne by every traveller from Lamartine downwards is, that the Mohammadan population is perishing—is dying out from its vices, and those vices of a nameless character. In fact, we don't know the true social state of Turkey, because it is indescribable; and Lord Carlisle, in his work, says that he is constrained to avoid referring to it. The other day Dr. Hally, who had lately returned from Turkey, where he had a near relation who had been physician to the embassy for about five years, stated in Manchester that his brother told him that the population of Constantinople, into which there is a large influx from the provinces, has considerably diminished during the last twenty years; a circumstance which he attributes to the indescribable vices of the Turks. It is because you don't sufficiently trust to the influence of the course of events in smoothing down difficulties, but will rush headlong to a resort to arms, which never can solve them, that you involve yourselves in long and ruinous wars. I never was of opinion that you had any reason to dread the aggressions of Russia upon any other state. If you have a weak and disordered empire like Turkey, as it were, next door to another that is more powerful, no doubt that tends

posed more with a view of stimulating recruiting at home, and of encouraging volunteering from the militia into the line, than with any intention of actually enrolling foreign troops. It was considered an appeal to the patriotism of the youth of the British empire, and probably, to some extent, acted as if the government had said, "If you hold back, we must look elsewhere."

The other measure passed by the parliament in this brief sitting was the militia bill. Its object was to permit her majesty to accept offers made by whole regiments, or portions of regiments, of militia for service out of the United Kingdom. This bill was brought forward by Lord Palmerston, who observed, that the government had been accused of entering into the war without having provided any reserve. To that accusation he replied, that the reserve upon which her majesty's government had counted, was the whole British nation. He expressed his conviction, that the expectations thus formed would not be disappointed, and that by voluntary offers of service, either from the militia or from civil portions of the community, ample means would be afforded of carrying on the war with all that energy which the circumstances of the case might require. The intention of the government was not to induce the militia to join the army under Lord Raglan, but to invite it to volunteer its services to do garrison duty in places in the Mediterranean, thus setting free such regiments of the line that were then required in those garrisons. His lordship spoke of Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands, as the probable places for which offers of service would be invited, though circumstances might happen which would induce the government to ask militia regiments to do garrison duty in some of the North American colonies. On the second reading of the bill, Lord Palmerston stated it was most distinctly enacted, that no man should be taken without his free will and consent.

The legislature did not forget that, besides to invite encroachments; but you have two chances in your favour—you may either have a feeble or differently disposed successor succeeding to the throne of the present czar [this was spoken during the life of the late Emperor Nicholas; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Cobden's surmise may, in the course of time, be proved to be correct] of Russia, or you may be able to establish some kind of authority in Turkey that will be more stable than under its present rule. At all events, if you effect a quintuple alliance between yourselves and the other great powers, you will certainly bind Austria, Prussia, and

its general duties to the country, it had an especial duty to perform in reference to our brave and suffering army in the Crimea. On Friday, the 15th of December, a vote of thanks was decreed, in both houses of parliament, to the army and navy engaged in the war. The oration in the House of Lords was spoken by the minister of war, the Duke of Newcastle. Though, perhaps, not adorned by any brilliant eloquence or sonorous periods, there was in it a simple manliness, an earnest sincerity, that spoke home to the hearts of those to whom it was addressed, and subsequently found an echo in the hearts of the people. Feeling that the speech, dignified by the august occasion, possesses an historical interest, we introduce it here—though, on account of its length, in an abbreviated condition. The duke spoke as follows:—

"My Lords,—I rise for the purpose of performing a duty which, though difficult, is of the most grateful character—to move that your lordships should agree to resolutions which must combine in entire unanimity all noble peers on either side of the house. Fortunately for me, in the performance of this task no eloquence is needed to induce your lordships to agree to these resolutions. They must, I am sure, under existing circumstances, appeal to the hearts and feelings of all Englishmen—to those without as to those within these walls. My lords, I feel that any elaborate praises, unless adorned with oratorical powers and chastened by the purest taste, would be less calculated to influence your lordships' minds on an occasion like the present, than the simplest record of the deeds done and the services rendered which we now seek to reward. On former occasions, when it has been the duty of ministers of the crown to move the thanks of parliament for the services of the army and navy of England, similar to those which I am about to lay before your lordships, it has been customary to lay before the house a statement of the services which had entitled the army or the navy to this favour at your lordships' hands. On the present occasion, I feel that I should only be uselessly trespassing on your lordships' time, if I were to attempt to enter into detail.

France to support you in holding Russia to the faithful fulfilment of the proposed treaty relating to the internal condition of Turkey. Why not, then, embrace that alternative, instead of continuing the present war; because, recollect that you have accomplished the object which her majesty in her gracious speech last session stated that she had in view in engaging in this contest. Russia is no longer invading the Turkish territory; you are now rather invading Russia's own dominions and attacking one of her strongholds at the extremity of her empire; but, as I contend, not assailing the real sources of her power."

At the present time, those deeds have been recorded in a manner unknown to us in former times, and in terms so striking and so graphic, through the medium of gentlemen who have been eye-witnesses of them, that it would be the merest affectation in me to attempt to say anything new of them, or to pretend to give your lordships information which in reality is known in every circle and in every cottage throughout the country. It has always been considered that a vote of thanks for the services of our gallant soldiers and sailors, is the highest reward which it is in the power of parliament to bestow. It has always been looked upon as the greatest incentive to the exertions of the officers and the valour of the men. It has always been looked upon by the army as not only a proof of the gratitude of parliament, but as an expression of the opinion of parliament, that it had as much a reference to the future as it was a record of gratitude for the past. My lords, it is not for me, at this moment, to discuss an aphorism which has become so trite and prevalent as to be generally accepted, that England is not a military nation; but in this I am sure your lordships will agree with me, that the glory acquired by our armies has ever been dear to the people of England, and has always elicited the warmest expressions of gratitude from the parliament of the country—from your lordships as well as from the representatives of the people. But, so far as your lordships' house is concerned, I feel we must entertain still greater pride and pleasure when he who is in command of those forces is a member of this house, one whom we have been in the habit of seeing among us, and one whom I am certain your lordships will all agree with me in heartily wishing that we may again see among us on a future day, safe in health, and enjoying that increased renown which he has so justly won. My lords, I consider that Lord Raglan deserves the thanks and approbation of the country, not merely for his military prowess, but for the course of conduct which he has pursued from the first moment of his leaving England. I believe that a man of weaker mind than Lord Raglan might well, under the circumstances of the moment, have hesitated to undertake that great expedition—the invasion of the Crimea. I believe, that a man of less power of mind, of less moral courage than Lord Raglan, might well have been deterred by the circumstances of the case, by the disease which prevailed in the army, by various events which might almost have justified him in exercising that discretion which, of course, no government could avoid placing in a commander-in-chief, and have declined or hesitated to enter upon that great and important expedition. My lords, I said on a former occasion that I considered it would be almost an insult to speak of Lord Raglan's courage; but I say now, that if there is any

point upon which we should be justified in blaming Lord Raglan, it is the great indifference which on both occasions he has shown for his own personal safety—carried, perhaps, to an improper length. The way in which he on both occasions exposed himself, in the midst of a storm of bullets and under the hottest fire, is undoubtedly a proof of his calm and resolute character, but it might possibly have deprived us of his valuable and important services. My lords, one of the secrets of Lord Raglan's success I believe to be the generous reliance which, on all occasions, he has placed in his officers, his colleagues, and his soldiers; and, let me add without disrespect to him, in himself. I say that the modesty which Lord Raglan has evinced in those despatches which have been published, and which have been read by your lordships, shows him a worthy disciple of that great man whose simplicity and modesty are matters of history. It is not merely the greatness of his military successes which entitles him to the thanks of parliament, but in no less degree the generous and noble spirit—the moral courage which he has evinced on all occasions, whether on the field or in the camp. I say, moreover, the parental tenderness manifested towards the officers and men under his command, is the invariable characteristic of a great and distinguished man. I shall ask your lordships to vote thanks to the generals and officers under Lord Raglan's command—naming, as is usual, all generals, not merely veterans like Sir John Burgoyne and Sir George Brown, two men whom we all know to have advanced to that period of life which, as the Scripture tells us, is the term of most of us—who have passed that period, and unquestionably are entitled to that repose from labour which their years in most men would absolutely require. To them I shall ask your lordships to give your thanks for their distinguished services. In the next place, to the illustrious prince, also a member of this house, who has on this occasion endeared, if it were possible, still more to the people of this country the family to which he belongs, and who has proved that the ancient valour of his race has not degenerated in the present day. I am confident your lordships will rejoice—as I know her majesty does—that a member of her house has been entitled to share in the toils, the difficulties, the privations, as well as in the glory of the British army. My lords, I will ask you further to vote thanks to Sir De Lacy Evans. I shall further ask you to vote thanks to all the generals and officers, from the highest to the lowest, from the general at the head of a division down to those noble youths who, not yet arrived at years of maturity, stepped forth, one after another, to seize the colours riddled with shot from the hands of their fallen brother ensigns, and carried them triumphantly to the heights

of Alma. My lords, we shall not stop here. We shall, I am sure, with equal unanimity, vote our thanks to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of that gallant army. We know how difficult it is, on many occasions, to reward individual private soldiers, but they deserve our most warm and hearty thanks. Perhaps at no battles recorded in the history of this country, did the private soldiers more justly entitle themselves to the thanks of parliament than at those which have recently occurred. Inkermann, especially, may be called, as I have heard it designated, the 'soldiers' battle.' That was an action in which no military strategy could be displayed; it was one of those fierce hand-to-hand encounters which remind us of the battles of which we read in classical times; it was a contest in which the individual bravery, perseverance, and fortitude of each single soldier were brought most severely to the test, and right well did they discharge their duty. Whether you look to the individual bravery displayed by our men upon that occasion—whether you look to their collective discipline—whether you look to the power of mind over matter, if I may use the expression, which enabled every man on that day to overcome, by a paramount sense of public duty, almost every human feeling, every regard for self, and even that dread of death which is natural to every human being—in whatever aspect you view the conduct of our troops, it is impossible not to admire and to honour every man who fought at Inkermann. My lords, whether you contemplate the storming of the heights of Alma, or the defence of Inkermann—two battles which present as remarkable a contrast, perhaps, as any that are recorded in history—you must recollect that the British troops by whom they were fought were men fresh from this country, the greater part of whom had never before heard a shot fired in anger; but I venture to say that, either upon the one occasion or the other, you must admit that no veteran troops, however practised in arms, however inured to contest, ever fought better, ever more distinguished themselves, or maintained the honour of their country. And let me observe, that it was no despicable enemy against whom they had to contend, for undoubtedly, whether from the excitement of fanaticism, or from some other influence, no men ever fought with greater desperation than did the Russians at Inkermann. I believe, my lords, that British troops never had to contend against more fearful odds than those which on that day they encountered and overcame. I will not enter further into that question upon the present occasion than to say that I must repeat, in the strongest and most emphatic terms, the praise which I believe to be most justly due to our troops for their moral conduct as well as their distinguished bravery. There is a test of a soldier's moral

conduct, not merely in a town which has been captured, but also in encampment in a country not his own; and the conduct of our men in Bulgaria, among a native population, alien to them in religion and in habits, was as creditable to them as their bravery in the field. I have the pleasure of stating to your lordships, that these are the sentiments of the sovereign; and her majesty has been pleased to signify her approval of the conduct of the army by conferring medals upon the whole of the soldiers and officers who were engaged upon those eventful days. The medal is to be inscribed with the word 'Crimea,' and, following what I think your lordships will agree with me are good precedents in such cases, clasps are also to be bestowed for the two great battles of Alma and Inkermann. Her majesty has further been pleased to order that the names of those battles shall in future be inscribed upon the colours which were already crowded with similar records of previous victories gained by our regiments which were engaged in the Crimea. My lords, it is further my duty to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to the naval officers and men who, as I stated a few nights ago, evinced upon these occasions the greatest devotion to the service, and the frankest and most honourable determination to assist the sister service—the army—to the utmost extent of their ability. I know that no one feels more than Lord Raglan and the soldiers under his command, how deeply the army, and, of course, this country, is indebted to the services of the navy during the recent operations. I will not dwell further upon them, but shall merely say, I propose that to the officers and seamen of the navy, and to the officers and men of the marines, your lordships shall convey the expression of your thanks. My lords, there are two other services which I believe it has never been usual to include in votes of thanks on these occasions, and I do not propose to ask your lordships to depart from precedents, but I cannot forbear from a passing remark upon the exertions of a large body of seamen who, though not engaged in her majesty's service, have most zealously performed their duties in this great undertaking—I allude to the officers and men of the large transport service now at the disposal of the army. I can assure your lordships that their exertions have been indefatigable, and deserve the warmest acknowledgments of parliament and of the country. The other body of men to whom I allude are the medical officers of the army. I speak not now, of course, of the medical organisation; but I must state, in justice to an honourable profession, that never were greater exertions made, never was more humanity evinced than by the doctors of the British army in the Crimea. I will only ask your lordships to consider for one moment the services performed by such a man as Dr. Thom-

son. He was left, under circumstances of the most painful nature, upon the field of battle, not to attend to the wounded of his own army, all of whom had been removed, but to a large body of Russians, many of whom—persuaded that an Englishman was little less than a devil—were prepared to murder any individual who might seek to render them succour and assistance. Among such men was Dr. Thomson left alone; he bound the wounds of some hundreds of these poor Russian soldiers at the great danger of his life, but nevertheless he escaped. He returned to his duties in his own army, but it pleased Providence to remove him from his sphere of usefulness two or three days subsequently. His death was occasioned by the immense exertions he had made, and a disease which he had thereby contracted. I must say, my lords, that if it has not been usual for parliament to thank such men as these, I consider that it is not wrong for a minister of the crown in this house to acknowledge their services. I am about, nevertheless, upon this occasion, to ask your lordships to depart somewhat from precedent. We are called upon to vote thanks to the men who have served their country, but I regret to say that a large body of those who left this country, high in expectation and confident of success, are not now within the reach of our mortal thanks. Their names are not in the list which I am about to submit to your lordships, but I am confident that they are not forgotten. With all our triumphs sorrow is inevitably mingled, and, when I look round upon your lordships at this moment, I see that there are some who bear the outward semblance of that grief which preys upon their inmost hearts for the losses they have sustained. I think, then, your lordships will not deem it unbecoming if, upon this occasion, departing from the dry rule of precedent, we should express our regret at the loss of those noble men, and our condolence with their relatives. I propose merely to ask your lordships so to do. I shall not in that resolution include any names, but it is impossible not to recollect the name of one whom, perhaps, above all others, the country most deeply mourns. My lords, I had the happiness to become acquainted with that gallant and noble man, Sir G. Cathcart, by official communications, before I ever saw him personally; and from the official communications which I held with him for a year and a-half, while he was governor of the Cape of Good Hope, I must say that I never was more struck with the ability, the honour, and the devotedness of any man. In common with the rest of those who were acquainted with him, I confidently looked forward to the time when he would take a position in the British army of the highest value to the country, and to that sovereign who, as much as any one of us, regrets his death. He and his companions sleep

on the green hills of a foreign coast, but I am confident their names will live for ever, not unhonoured, in the sad and grateful memory of the people, as well as in the military records of this country. I rejoice, my lords, that upon this occasion we are enabled to extend our votes of thanks beyond their usual bounds. We have had during this contest an ally such as it has rarely been our good fortune to possess in any former war, and I propose to your lordships that we should vote thanks to that gallant army which has shared with ours its labours and its triumphs. I need scarcely remind your lordships of that eminent man who undertook the command at the commencement of the operations,—though, under the circumstances of the case, of course, I cannot name him in the vote,—or of the distinguished general who so worthily succeeded him in command of the French army. Marshal St. Arnaud, as is well known, assumed the command of the army with the conviction that he had a mortal malady upon him, and that, in all probability, it would be impossible for him to return alive to his own country. He showed the greatest devotion to the service of the army; and Lord Raglan, in his private letters, repeatedly mentions that he carried on his duties in a spirit of the most entire harmony with him. In fact, Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan might have been brought up in the same service, and have been serving in the same army, so far as their communications were concerned. Marshal St. Arnaud left Varna with the French and English forces on the 7th of September. In the course of the short voyage to the opposite coast, he became so seriously ill, that the officer who had been sent by Lord Raglan to communicate with him, reported that he believed it to be impossible that the marshal could ever land on the shores of the Crimea. He, nevertheless, rallied for a time; he landed, he mounted his horse, and, though I believe that repeatedly during the battle of Alma he was obliged from intense suffering to dismount, he gallantly remained at his post, and, as you know, died almost in the hour of victory. He was succeeded in command by General Canrobert, whose frank and noble conduct has as greatly endeared him to the British army as to Lord Raglan and the British officers. They all respect his military prowess—they admire him as a soldier—they regard him as a man. Let me also add, though it may be uncommon to mention in a vote of thanks an officer second in command, that to General Bosquet a tribute of admiration is due. He has been brought into more especial contact with our troops; he has served with the English forces upon the right; and I can state—from information derived from the most authentic sources—that our troops look upon him almost as if he were a general in their own army, and I believe they would be as ready to follow him

to victory as they would be to follow any general who possesses the commission of the queen. Such has already become the feeling of affection and of concord which subsists between the two armies. I would also add that I propose to your lordships to vote thanks to the French navy, as I propose to do to our own navy, for the distinguished services they have rendered, and for the assistance they have afforded in all the operations of the war. The French army and the French navy, allied in the same efforts with ourselves, have, I rejoice to know, participated in the same triumphs; and I am confident you will as readily accord your thanks to these foreign corps as to our own. I feel, my lords, how inadequately I have submitted these resolutions to your lordships. Were it not that I am certain he is prepared to undertake the duty, I should invite the noble earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) to second the motion which I have had the honour to submit to your lordships. It has been my fate, during the few years for which I have occupied a seat in this house, to be frequently in collision—*impare congressu*—with the noble earl, but I feel certain that upon this occasion we shall be as completely agreed as any two peers on this side of the house. I invite—with confidence that it will be afforded—his fervid eloquence to strengthen my feeble voice in appealing to your lordships to give this vote the sanction of your unanimous approval. I am certain that your lordships will unanimously record your approbation and gratitude for the brilliant services rendered by the united armies, which have added fresh lustre to the military fame of England and of France.”

The duke then moved the thanks of the house formally, mentioning by name each officer of distinction. The motion was supported by the Earl of Derby, by the Earls of Hardwicke and Malmesbury, Viscounts Hardinge and Gough, and Lord Colchester, and finally carried by acclamation.

In the House of Commons it fell to Lord John Russell to propose the thanks of the representatives of the people of England to their brave and suffering soldiers in the Crimea. We append the speech in a somewhat abbreviated form:—

“In rising to perform the task which I have undertaken, I have the satisfaction of knowing that, however feebly or incompletely that task may be performed, I shall have the sympathy of this house. I cannot doubt that all those who are concerned in and who approve the expedition that has been sent to the Crimea, will cordially join in acknowledging the deeds of valour, constancy, and fortitude, which have been, and which they had a right to expect, would be per-

formed, and I should say, still more strongly, that those who thought that the expedition was undertaken with inadequate means, and that our army was exposed to unequal odds, will still more be inclined to admire the superhuman efforts that have been made by that army. I therefore proceed with this task in full confidence that the house will heartily approve the motions which I am about to submit to them. In performing that task, I may, perhaps, say at the outset that I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid repeating the details of actions, a narrative of which has been given by Lord Raglan in his own clear and admirable language. I shall also endeavour to avoid entering into any question of tactics, or of military criticism. I hold that we are none of us well qualified to perform that task—one which can only be adequately performed by those who are not only perfectly familiar with the art of war, but also who know all the circumstances of the operations which have been undertaken, and of the manner in which those operations have been conducted. If I were to give an illustration of my meaning, I would mention that in a *History of the French Empire*, the historian, in recounting the operations which occurred at the battle of Wagram, states that the First Napoleon, having carried the battle to a certain extent, and seeing the victory was inclined in his favour, ordered certain manœuvres to be performed, but that he said afterwards that there was another manœuvre which would have been far more decisive and would have led to far more splendid results, but that his army was not at that time composed of those veterans who were accustomed to war; that many of his troops were young and inexperienced, and that he could not rely upon their steadiness, or be certain that the manœuvre, which was of a difficult nature to be performed, would be effected by them. Now, sir, a military critic having discovered that such a manœuvre might have been performed, might have easily blamed the great commander for not having undertaken it; but he, knowing all the circumstances, and being aware of his position, the ground he occupied, and the temper and disposition of his troops, was no doubt very correct in the tactics which he adopted. So, likewise, in regard to every military operation: unless you know exactly the nature of the ground on which the general is placed, and unless you can count exactly upon the force which he has at command, and likewise upon the state and temper of his army, it is impossible for you to judge accurately with respect to the operations that are by him performed. Now, I say this, because it is my intention only to state what are the operations which have been performed, without making any comment upon them. I have no doubt that they were performed with very great ability. I have no doubt they were

performed according to the best judgment that could be arrived at under the circumstances. But I do not intend on this occasion to meet any objections which may be made as to any particular course of conduct taken by our army on any particular day. Let me proceed to state the position of Lord Raglan. Lord Raglan was chosen by her majesty to command the expedition which was sent to the East. That choice was dictated by the reflection of the services which he had already performed both in the army and in other capacities. Lord Raglan, when he was a young man, might, under the influence of a very powerful family connexion, have obtained any position he might have aspired to; but the only thing he asked of the government of that day was to be attached to the staff of Sir Arthur Wellesley. He was attached to that staff, and from that time every step that he has gained in rank in the army has been due to his merit, and to his merit alone. I remember him perfectly well, on several occasions, when I had the honour of being at the head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, performing all the duties of military secretary to that great captain, at a time when he had not only to conduct the military correspondence of the army, but also the correspondence with the government at home, with the secretary of state, with the secretary at war, and with the Portuguese and Spanish governments. This was business amply sufficient to employ any office in this country, and yet it was all performed by Lord Raglan, owing to the clear head and facility of dispatch which he possessed, amid the hurry of arms; and that without for a moment allowing his attention to be diverted from his duties in the field. After accompanying the Duke of Wellington in his long career, he was at length appointed to a position in the service in which he was called upon to perform other and more important duties to his country. And if the character of the army of this country has been in any degree exalted, and if the selection for promotion that has been made shows how much desert has been attended to, it is in a great degree to Lord Raglan that the country has been indebted for these results. Such was the man, therefore, who was appointed by her majesty to command the army in the Crimea; and let me say, further, that having been so appointed, he at once commanded the confidence and affection of the British army, and in a very short time he obtained the entire confidence and the hearty co-operations of the generals of our ally, the Emperor of the French. When we have to consider that our operations were to be conducted in common, and that they were to be conducted in common with the forces of an ally with whom we had not been accustomed to co-operate in the field, the house and the

country will see that it was not only by his decision of what was to be done in the field, but that it was likewise by other and no less necessary circumstances which he had to think of and decide upon, that Lord Raglan has been of service to his country. And now, sir, I will proceed to notice that expedition and those contests in which the best blood of this country has been shed; and when I say the best blood of this country, I by no means intend to refer to any particular rank, military or social; for I feel that among the best blood of this country is the blood of those sons of labour who, having entered the military profession, have devoted their whole hearts to their duties—men who have stood in the field of battle without the hope or expectation of being distinguished by those rewards by which men in higher stations are often swayed, but who have performed their duty nobly, reckless even of their lives, at the same time with a feeling of religious obligation that all must admire. For while they have endured, with the greatest firmness, the assaults of their enemies, they have shrunk with the utmost avoidance from committing the slightest outrage upon any one. I am confident that these children of the peasantry of England are of no less worth in blood and courage than the sons of the highest and the noblest of the land. The embarkation of the British troops took place towards the end of August, and in a despatch of the 29th of that month, Lord Raglan mentions the acknowledgments that he thinks are due to the officers of the British navy (of which I shall take notice hereafter, when I come to that part of the vote) for the assistance they had given in order to procure the embarkation of so great a number. The expedition proceeded to the Crimea. There was some question with respect to the place of disembarkation. Lord Raglan himself preceded the fleet in a swift steamer, surveyed the coast, and found that some points which had been thought of as landing-places for the troops were guarded by numerous redoubts and fortifications, and at length fixed upon a place for disembarkation, to which he obtained the assent of Marshal St. Arnaud, the commander of the French army. This selection was so judicious that the whole army was disembarked without opposition, and the important operation was effected safely and completely in the course of two days. Having landed on the 14th of September, the army proceeded, and effected a march of considerable length on the 19th. On the 20th of the month, they marched two miles further, and finding the Russian army intrenched on the heights above the Alma, they attacked it, and in the course of two hours made themselves masters of those heights, the Russian army making no further attempt to retake and occupy that position. It was a position well chosen and of great natural

strength—so strong that the right of the Russian position was quite unassailable from the nature of the ground; and it is generally believed that Prince Mentschikoff, who there commanded, said it was a position in which the allied army might be kept at bay for three weeks, and be thereby prevented from proceeding to the siege of Sebastopol. Yet such was the brilliant valour of the British and French troops that they carried those heights. The light division of the British army having encountered a heavy shower of musketry and grape which, for a time, thinned their ranks, the brigade of the guards and the highlanders came up and attacked the position with such vigour and determination, that the Russians yielded the heights, never again to attempt their occupation. I have already said that, with regard to the details of this action, Lord Raglan has told them in the clearest and fullest manner. I may mention, however, some circumstances relating to that noble lord himself. Marshal St. Arnaud carried at the same time the left of the Russian position. The charge of the French was so impetuous and so vigorous that the Russians yielded the ground, and the French army was established on the heights which they had occupied. On the British side great masses of troops were collected. Lord Raglan, seeing the great force with which he had to contend, desired an officer of his staff to go to a height which he pointed out, and see if there was any chance of approaching it with our guns. The officer returned and said he thought it was possible, and Lord Raglan immediately directed two guns to be carried to the height. The Russian artillery was so powerful and so incessant that many of the artillerymen who manned those guns were killed in scaling the height; but the guns were placed where Lord Raglan had desired, and an officer of his own staff fired the first shots that were discharged from them. They were not effective, but presently they got the range, and other shots were so well directed against the masses of the Russian infantry, and made such chasms in their ranks, that after a time the whole mass began to move, the columns were shaken, and the Russians compelled to retreat. This was a proof, as I think, conclusive of his skill as a general—his seeing with so much accuracy in what point the enemy could be assailed, and directing with that coolness which belonged to him, and with that decision which is likewise his characteristic, the mode in which the vast forces of the enemy might be most successfully opposed. While I speak of the coolness of Lord Raglan, I may perhaps be permitted to mention what has been named by an officer of his own staff—that, thinking he exposed himself too much—that he had gone too near a place where the Russian fire was exceedingly hot, and that the life of a commander ought not to be so

risked—one of his staff said to him that he thought he was exposing himself too much, when Lord Raglan's answer was, 'Don't speak to me now, I am busy.' There is nothing of epigrammatic wit, there is nothing perhaps of heroic sentiment in these words, but they were the words of an English gentleman, attentive to his duty and quite regardless of any danger while he was discharging it. After the battle of the Alma, the army halted for a time while both the military and the seamen of the fleet were employed in assisting the wounded, in carrying the wounded to the ships, and in burying the dead. The English and French army then proceeded, and the river Katcha was crossed without any difficulty, the Russians having given up all defence of that river; but when they came to the Belbek, they found on the course of that river certain works of defence which the Russians had constructed. A fresh consultation was accordingly necessary, when it was considered whether those works should be attacked—whether the army should proceed as originally intended to attack the north side of Sebastopol, or whether some other course should not be taken? It was decided that, instead of occupying themselves in reducing these works, the army should at once and at all risks, march across the woods to the south of Sebastopol, and endeavour to make themselves masters of Balaklava. That march was accomplished on the 25th of September with great skill, the army being exposed, of course, to the dangers of a flank attack while they were performing it; but it was successfully performed to the surprise of the Russian commander. The rear-guard of the Russian force was surprised on the right of Sebastopol, between Bakshiserai and that place, and the English and French army proceeded, without difficulty, to make themselves masters of the heights between Balaklava and Sebastopol—an operation which was performed with great skill and success. But immediately after this operation, Lord Raglan had to lament that the officer with whom he had co-operated, with whom he had consulted both as to the original decision and the undertaking of the expedition, the means of embarkation and disembarkation, and the fight of the Alma, was so reduced by illness that he could no longer continue the command. Marshal St. Arnaud, with that heroic spirit which distinguished him, determined to persevere to the last in performing his duty to his sovereign and his country. He was determined that, though in a few weeks, perhaps in a few days, nothing but his cold dust might remain, that dust should be covered with laurels. He retired from the field, went on board the fleet, and in a day afterwards expired. We must all lament an officer who showed so much gallantry and so much heroism, and with whom our own army had so much reason to be

satisfied, and we shall always acknowledge him as an officer who, to the last day of his life, performed his duty. The command of the French army then fell into the hands of General Canrobert, and it is with great satisfaction I can state that, both in previous concert, and ever since he has had that command, Lord Raglan and General Canrobert have acted together with the rivalry only who should best serve the common cause—with no other rivalry, with no species of jealousy, but each admiring and applauding the character and actions of the other. On the 28th of September, the army occupied the heights in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol; and ten days had elapsed when, after a full examination of the ground, the impression of Sir John Burgoyne and other eminent officers was, that the task would be far more difficult than had been supposed. It had been imagined that, the regular fortifications of Sebastopol on the land side never having been perfected, the army might approach close to the town, destroy those defences with such artillery as they had ready, and that the capture of the town might be very soon accomplished. When I look back to the letters that were written at that time by various officers and transmitted to us, I find a confident anticipation that Sebastopol would soon fall. Sir J. Burgoyne, however, on examining the ground, found that, as the hills where they parted and fell towards Sebastopol, opened into wide ravines separated from each other, the troops that were placed on one part of a hill could not co-operate with those on the other; he therefore found that it would be very difficult to carry on the operations in the way originally intended, and that it would be dangerous to lead any part of the English forces unsupported on such ground as I have described this part of the neighbourhood of Sebastopol to be. It was accordingly resolved to bring as much heavy artillery into the batteries as could be brought, and our soldiers, day after day, and night after night, laboured with singular perseverance in order to place a sufficiently large amount of heavy guns to destroy the defences of Sebastopol. But it was obvious that, from the moment that determination, that necessary determination was taken, the prospect became one of a very distant kind; for the Russians, having a great quantity of heavy artillery in Sebastopol, having likewise all the guns of their large fleet which lay in the harbour, and having a considerable garrison, without counting the population of Sebastopol, would have a force equal to, if not superior, to that of the allies. From that moment, therefore, the task became one of very great labour and difficulty; but both on the French side and on the side of the British force, nothing was left undone in order to hasten on the works, and to open a formidable fire on the Russian fortifications. On the 17th of October that fire was opened, and pro-

duced very considerable effect. Many of the guns in the Russian batteries were dismounted, and some of their works were for a time nearly destroyed. At the same time the fleet, both English and French, came near the forts towards the sea-side, and opened a most formidable fire for some hours against those defences; but, that fire not having produced the effect of leaving the place open to the immediate assault of the allies, the Russians occupied the night always in repairing the defences which had been destroyed, and in replacing other guns as substitutes for those which had been destroyed. In this manner, therefore, the siege went on till the 25th of October; the Russians, coming round by the valley of the Tchernaya, made an attack on our outposts, and succeeded in making themselves masters of one or two redoubts. They had a great force of cavalry; but the heavy cavalry of the British, not regarding their superiority of numbers, attacked them with great gallantry, and forced them to retire. On the same day, by the misconstruction of an order that had been given by Lord Raglan, an attack was made by the light cavalry upon the line of the Russians, comprehending their batteries, which were guarded by other batteries in flank and a large body of mounted troops. Nothing could be more distinguished than the bravery of the British troops on this occasion. I believe at no time in the annals of the British army has courage been more displayed. We all lament the misconstruction that occurred, and the want of the effect which might have been produced had the charge been directed in a different manner; but that cannot be the least disparagement to the valour of the men who were thus ready at any risk to charge the enemy that lay before them. The works of the siege continued, those works being in themselves very laborious, occupying a far more than ordinary proportion of the besieging force, and the more fatiguing because a great portion of the men had been taken away by sickness. It was in this state of things that an immense effort was made by the commanders of the Russian forces in order to overwhelm the forces of the allies, which remained, on the one side, besieging a great fortified place with a numerous garrison and intrenchments, defended by a prodigious artillery, and, on the other, confronted by a Russian army. That attempt was made, it has been said, by 60,000 men, but I think it probable that the number was not less than 80,000. They were troops who had not been present at the battle of the Alma—troops who did not know the enemy they had to encounter. These troops, raised to the utmost pitch of fanaticism, and, it is said, their courage animated by other means, came in vast columns to the attack of the British position on the 5th of November. Lord Raglan has related the events of that battle. He has stated how, in

the darkness of the night and in the fog of the morning, the Russians were able to place a very large artillery force and to advance vast columns close to the English position. In that darkness and thickness of the fog it was impossible to exercise the powers and the discrimination of a commander. It was impossible to survey the field or to direct operations. There were only about 8,000 British soldiers in that field; but though their numbers were few—though they had been weakened by sickness and battle—though they presented themselves ragged from the labours and privations they had gone through—though, amid the darkness, they got ready with the companions and comrades of their own regiments—though a great portion of them came after twenty-four hours' hard work in the trenches—though they had not time even to take a scanty meal before they met this powerful enemy, yet there remained unquenched and unquenchable the spirit of British soldiers, and that spirit bore them on to victory. It was, as my right honourable friend the secretary at war truly said, the battle of the soldiers. But yet that band of heroes, exposed as they were to an artillery against which nothing for a very long time could have stood, might have been, not driven from the field or defeated, but forced to lay down their lives on the heights, which the enemy, in consequence of their overwhelming numbers, might then have occupied, had there not at this very moment arrived, after the English had for hours withstood a most determined attack, a reinforcement of our French allies, commanded by General Bosquet, one of the most distinguished chiefs in the French army, and who directed with great skill and valour the troops he led to the spot. The French soldiers rushed on with such impetuosity that they saved the day, and preserved both armies from the disasters that might have occurred to them had the Russians gained any part of the position, and from that had been able to continue the attack against the allied forces. Still, including these French troops, there were but 14,000 men of the allies engaged in this famous action; and I believe, in respect to the destruction of the enemy, scarcely any battle has been equal to it. More than 5,000 dead were left on the field of battle by the Russians, and it would be a moderate estimate to say that three times as many must have been wounded; so that these 14,000 allied troops caused a loss to the enemy of far more than their own number. I believe that no modern annals contain the history of a battle more to the honour of those who gained it than the one I am now alluding to. It has cost, indeed, the loss of many a gallant man, and brought misery and affliction to many families, but I am persuaded that the renown of that battle will last, and its effects will be appreciated, for generations to come. In the course of it there were

some vicissitudes, but the heroism which the brave allied troops displayed is indisputable; and they who had to meet such troops—they who have to give an account of what it is to attack such troops—will be slow to think that Russia can ever gain the advantage in the war she is now waging against soldiers so indomitable. I will now advert only to the general operations of the siege, and to the assistance we have received from the navy. The general operations of the siege, as I have stated, have been conducted by officers of great experience, and have been of the most laborious kind. The sufferings and privations of our troops have been such as never before were equalled; and, in alluding to the losses we have sustained, I cannot omit mentioning one name—the name of a general who fell at the battle of Inkermann—because, from his character, his talents, and his former services, the country had every reason to expect to see in him a complete military commander. I allude to Sir George Cathcart. I remember witnessing last year, after he had just returned to this country, the joy and exultation with which he hailed his appointment to a command in the Crimea. To the last hour of his life that feeling seems to have continued, and he appears to have had no other ambition and no other wish than to devote his life to his country, and to spend the last drop of his blood in her service. Such are the men who do honour to this country, and by this the name of Sir George Cathcart never will be forgotten. Having said thus much with respect to the army, I now have to state that it will also be my duty to propose a vote of thanks to the navy for their co-operation. I have mentioned that Lord Raglan, at the commencement of the operations, said that the zeal and efficiency of the navy in performing the service of landing the troops was beyond all praise, and that from Admiral Dundas down to the lowest sailor there were exhibited the same zeal and the same eagerness to discharge the duty efficiently. He notices especially the conduct of Sir E. Lyons. I am glad he mentions that distinguished officer, who is an honour to the profession to which he belongs, and from whom, we may expect, in the course of the war in which we are now engaged, great and brilliant services. A man of greater ability, in whatever duty he may be employed, I scarcely ever met with, and his meritorious conduct is well known to his country. I believe that every officer engaged on that service performed his duty most excellently. After moving these votes, I shall next venture to propose one of an unusual character—one, perhaps, without precedent, but, considering the feeling of the country, one to which this house will no doubt readily agree. *I mean to propose a vote of thanks to General Canrobert, and to the French officers and men who have co-operated with her majesty's forces.* Such has been the feeling

created by the gallant acts performed by Englishmen and Frenchmen conjointly, that I believe the bonds of friendship thus formed between two nations, which have always respected each other, will not be easily loosened. These two nations, the most enlightened, the most intelligent, and the most spirited of Europe, may well act in alliance together, and give an example to the world of duties resolutely performed and of high principles adequately maintained. I likewise mean to propose a vote lamenting the fate of those who have perished in these actions; and offering our condolence to the families of those brave men who have died in the service of the country. There is one thing further I have to say, with respect to which I trust I shall have the concurrence of this house. It was said, in reference to one victory gained in the course of the last war, by Mr. Wyndham that, for his part, he would rather have to celebrate a gallant feat of arms performed by the British army, than the conquest of a whole archipelago of sugar islands. His saying is both spirited and wise. It is in these things that the life of a nation is seen; it is by actions such as we have to commemorate to-day that the spirit of a nation is maintained from age to age. It is by battles and victories like those to which I have called the attention of the house, and which both the English and the French now have to record in their annals, that each nation has its separate existence; and it is such exploits that make each country ready to defend its independence at any cost. We have seen for years the parliament, the people, every class, engaged in speculations and practices connected with the progress of wealth, the arts, machinery, and improvements of peace; and we have shown that these studies, and that devotion to these pursuits have not in the least abated the courage which belongs to the entire nation. We have shown, whether English, Scotch, or Irish be regarded, that a similar spirit animates the whole United Kingdom, and that we are ready to peril in a just cause all that is most dear to men. I say again, that the victories which have been gained in such a cause as the present, and with such a spirit as the nation has shown, must not only redound to the fame and glory of the country for future generations, but enable it to present itself as an object of regard, respect, and admiration to the whole world."

The several votes of thanks moved by Lord John Russell were, in substance, the same as those brought forward by the Duke of Newcastle in the imperial house of parliament. The votes of thanks, after being ably seconded by Mr. Disraeli, and spoken to by Mr. Layard and other gentlemen, were carried unanimously. It was truly observed, that this record of a nation's thanks to its

defenders—this outpouring of the gratitude of an empire to its suffering heroes, was a great religious act.

The people and government of France were much gratified that the thanks of the English parliament had been voted to their army and navy. The Earl of Clarendon received from her majesty's ambassador at the French court a copy of a note of acknowledgment addressed to him by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the minister for foreign affairs. The following is a translation of this document:—

"M. l'Ambassadeur,—I have had the honour to receive the letter by which your excellency was good enough to communicate to me the text of the identical resolutions adopted by the two chambers of the British parliament in their session of the 19th inst.

"The thanks voted to our army and to our fleet, as well as to their commanders, could not but deeply affect the government of the emperor. The thoughts of his imperial majesty are directed with unceasing solicitude to the scene of the contest in which the allied armies are engaged; it is, therefore, with the utmost satisfaction that he observes the esteem which the soldiers of the two countries mutually entertain for each other increased by the courage and perseverance which they display in the service of one and the same cause. The government of the emperor especially congratulates itself at perceiving in the vote of the parliament an evidence of the intimate union which, connecting together the policy of France and England, blends also in one and the same expression the encomiums to which glorious efforts and toilsome labours so justly entitle the two armies and the two fleets which the two countries have sent to share the same perils and the same fatigues.

"Receive, &c.,

"DROUYN DE LHUYS."

The English parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess on the 22nd of December. The following day the *Times* newspaper rang out a dismal knell of warning; and from that time it issued leaders of a painful and startling character—leaders which largely contributed, on the reassembling of parliament, to the overthrow of the ministry. It called upon Englishmen to rouse themselves from a sense of false security, and reflect upon the state of our troops and the prospects of the war. "What remains," said it. "of more than 50,000 men, the

best blood of this country, which now represents, 3,000 miles from home, the glory, the influence, the courage, and the ability of our race? The England of European history is now in the Crimea. We have defied the largest army in the world; and, if we have not backed our challenge with quite sufficient strength or promptitude, we have at least made an effort beyond all former example. At this moment it would be rash even to conjecture the fate of those hardy survivors of the 54,000 men. Do they still maintain the unequal fight—chilled, drenched, famished, utterly neglected? Has a slight aggravation of their many ills—a drop of the thermometer some degrees below zero, or a few more inches of rain, extinguished them altogether, or left scarce enough for a safe retreat? Or may we dare to hope that desperation itself has urged the brighter alternative of a dash at the city, with a somewhat less loss of life than would attend another month of inaction? After the dreary, and ever still drearier, history of the siege, we cannot hope as much. * * * There is no use disguising the matter. We are not speaking from our own correspondence only. We are not saying what we think alone. We say, on the evidence of every letter that has been received in this country, and we echo the opinion of almost every experienced soldier or well-informed gentleman, when we say, that the noblest army England ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic *hauteur*, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign, revel, and riot in the camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals of Sentari—and how much nearer home we do not venture to say."

On Tuesday, the 26th of December, the Emperor of the French opened the legislative session. His speech on that occasion—a translation of which we append—revealed the feelings of the French nation, and something of the intentions of their government with respect to the conduct of the war.

"Gentlemen, Senators, and Deputies,—Since your last meeting great events have happened. The appeal which I made to the country to provide for the expenses of the war was so well responded to, that the result even exceeds my hopes. Our arms have been victorious in the Baltic as well as in the Black Sea. Two great battles have

shed lustre on our flag. Striking testimony has been afforded of the intimacy of our connexion with England. The parliament has voted thanks to our generals and our soldiers. A great empire made young again by the chivalrous sentiments of its sovereign, has detached itself from the power which for forty years threatened the independence of Europe. The Emperor of Austria has concluded a treaty, defensive now, to be offensive, perhaps, soon, which unites his cause to that of France and England. Thus, gentlemen, the longer the war is prolonged, the more does the number of our allies augment, and the more closely are drawn the ties already formed. What ties, indeed, can be more binding than the names of the victories belonging to the two armies, and recalling a glory in common—when the same uneasiness and the same hope agitate the two countries, and when the same intentions animate the two governments upon every point of the globe? Thus the alliance with England is not the effect of a fleeting interest, or a policy of circumstances; it is the union of two powerful nations, associated together to obtain the triumph of a cause in which, for more than a century were involved their greatness, the interests of civilisation, and at the same time the liberty of Europe. Join with me, then, upon this solemn occasion, in thanking, in the name of France, the parliament for its cordial and hearty demonstration, and the English army and its worthy chief for their valiant co-operation. Next year, should not peace be then re-established, I hope to have the same thanks to address to Austria and to that Germany whose union and prosperity we desire. I am happy to pay a just tribute of eulogium to the army and the fleet, which, by their devotion and their discipline have, in France as well as in Algeria, in the north as well as in the south, worthily fulfilled my expectations. The army in the East has, up to this time, suffered everything and overcome everything. Epidemy, incendiarism, tempests, and privations—a town unceasingly provisioned, defended by formidable artillery by sea and land—two enemies' armies superior in number—nothing could weaken its courage or arrest its ardour. Every one has nobly done his duty, from the marshal, *who appeared to compel death to wait until he had conquered*, down to the soldier and the sailor, whose last cry in expiring was an aspiration for France, an acclamation for

the chosen of the country. Let us, then, declare it together, the army and the fleet have merited well of their country. War, it is true, entails cruel sacrifices; nevertheless, everything enjoins me to prosecute it with vigour; and for this purpose I reckon upon your co-operation. The army is now composed of 581,000 soldiers and 113,000 horses; the navy of 62,000 sailors afloat. To keep up this force is indispensable. Therefore, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by annual retirements and by the war, I ask you, the same as last year, for a levy of 140,000 men. A law will be presented to you, having for its object to ameliorate, without augmenting, the burden of the treasury; the position of the soldiers who re-engage will lead to great advantages, to increase the number of old soldiers in the army, and to allow hereafter a diminution of the burdens of the conscription. This law, I hope, will soon receive your approval. I shall ask your authority to raise a fresh national loan. No doubt, this measure will increase the public debt. Nevertheless, let us not forget that, by the conversion of the stock, the interest of that debt has been reduced twenty-five millions and a-half. My efforts have been directed to the object of limiting the expenses to the receipts; and the ordinary budget, which will be presented to you, will show that both are balanced. The resources from the loan will be solely applied to meet the exigencies of the war. You will see with pleasure that our revenues have not diminished. Industrial activity is maintained. All the great works of public utility are proceeding, and Providence has been pleased to give us a harvest which satisfies our wants. The government, nevertheless, does not close its eyes to the inconvenience occasioned by the dearness of provisions, and has taken every means in its power to prevent that inconvenience, and to mitigate it. It has created in many localities new elements of labour. The struggle which is proceeding, circumscribed by moderation and justice, although it may frighten some, gives so little alarm to great interests, that soon the different parts of the globe may expect to enjoy the fruits of peace. Foreigners cannot fail to be struck with the touching spectacle of a country which, relying upon divine protection, sustains with energy a war at 600 leagues' distance from its frontiers, and which develops with the same ardour its internal riches—a country where war does

not prevent agriculture and industry from prospering, or the arts from flourishing, and where the genius of the nation is displayed in everything that can tend to the glory of France."

The same day on which this oration was spoken by the Emperor Napoleon, news arrived that a Russian ukase had been issued, which ordained that whoever, after a battle, committed acts of cruelty on the wounded or unresisting, should suffer the punishment of death. This was a concession to the practices of civilised warfare, wrung from the czar Nicholas by the public opinion of Europe. During this period our information concerning the proceedings and state of mind of the late Emperor of Russia must necessarily be of an uncertain character. Various reports were in existence; some representing him as desirous of peace,—others as resolutely bent on continuing the war, unless it was terminated by a peace which left him in the same position with respect to Turkey which he held at the outbreak of hostilities. A St. Petersburg correspondent to a Prussian journal stated, in reference to this subject, "that the emperor was never so indefatigable as at present (December, 1854); he devotes sixteen hours a day to the transaction of business; the lists of those who have distinguished themselves by bravery he goes through with the greatest care, and leaves no deserving case unrewarded. Count Nesselrode, who continues to enjoy his confidence, confers with him daily. On the 8th, the conclusion of the triple alliance had transpired in the upper circles of St. Petersburg, and caused not a little sensation there: but still the conviction was general that Austria would never draw the sword against Russia. The emperor has made up his mind to a European war; he is conscious of his power, and omits nothing to secure and increase it: though not disinclined to an honourable peace, he is ready to take up the gauntlet that Europe throws at his feet." This persevering industry and wild spasmodic energy in the emperor was clearly enough the result of disease—of restless excitement, and that nervous irritability produced by incessant agitation. The spirit of eternal retribution which permeates throughout nature, and visits the wrongdoer with the penalties of wrong, was slowly performing its inexorable task. The flashing of diseased energy gave a false strength to the man who was lur-

rying towards his sudden, dark, and irrevocable doom.

Still the czar's labours were incessant; vast preparations for war went on, and information, dated December 12th, arrived from St. Petersburg, to the effect that if peace was not produced by negotiations at the commencement of the year 1855, a conscription was ordered to take place throughout Russia of sixteen in every thousand eligible for soldiers, which would produce an army of 1,000,000 men.

We have mentioned that the Emperor of Russia had expressed his willingness to treat for peace. Just at the expiration of the year, when, in conformity with the treaty of the 2nd of December, Austria would have been called upon to take what further steps she should consider proper to attain the object of the allies, Prince Gortschakoff declared that his powers were not sufficient to enable him to accept the four conditions as interpreted by the allies. He expressed a doubt that the Emperor Nicholas would consent to negotiate upon the proposed basis, and that, even if he accepted the other three conditions, he would probably reject the article tending to limit his ascendancy in the Black Sea. Upon this the representatives of the other powers consented to wait fourteen days from the end of December for the definitive reply of Russia. Thus Europe was still kept in a state of agitation as to the future; and to the question of peace or war it was difficult to reply. As to Austria, this delay still allowed her intentions to be shrouded by the dusky veil of diplomacy.

At this period a leading journal expressed itself in the following language, with the conclusions of which, unhappily, we feel ourselves compelled to concur:—"How often have these efforts to produce peace failed to overcome punctilios and pretensions which have never been abandoned till it was too late! We expect no more favourable result in the present instance; for we cannot flatter ourselves that enough has been done by the hostile power of the allies to compel the Emperor of Russia to submit to the terms we require. His military power is far greater than it was at the outset of the war. The whole resources of the empire have been exerted to place his fortresses in the best state of defence, and to bring enormous armies into the field. The battles he has lost may have shaken the confidence of his troops, and

impaired the fame of his generals; but they have not led to any decisive results in our favour; and even in that small province of the Russian empire which is bounded by the isthmus of Perekop, the war is carried on with doubtful success. We can therefore hardly anticipate that another summons to submit to terms, however moderate they may be, will produce any effect on a sovereign who is engaged in the grand struggle of his life and of his reign. A negotiation for the re-establishment of peace upon the conditions required by the allied powers might, perhaps, have been commenced with effect, if Sebastopol had already fallen into their hands; but, with Sebastopol untaken, and our forces besieged rather than besieging before its walls, it is not to be expected that the Emperor of Russia will treat for the surrender of his preponderating power in the Black Sea."

We have described the wretched state of the road, or rather slushy track from Balaklava to the English camp before Sebastopol. Letters from the Crimea bore constant references to the privations and misery caused by this state of things. The means of transport possessed by the army—miserably deficient from the first—was quite unequal to the task of supplying the camp with military stores and provisions. Sal-low, wretched men, and starving horses, dragged on with their burdens through the deep mud, till many, both men and beasts, fell down and died, unable to battle longer against the difficulties and miseries that encompassed them. Reports of this character created much commiseration in England; and Messrs. Peto and Betts, the eminent builders, nobly offered the immense resources at their command gratuitously to the government for the construction of a railway or tram-road from Balaklava to the camp at Sebastopol. Animated by a patriotic spirit, they undertook to prepare and lay down the railway without any profit to themselves, engaging merely to send in to the government bills for such expenses as they had actually to pay.

The government accepted the generous offer: the contractors laboured night and day; and, by the end of December, the necessary materials and workmen were mostly ready for departure to the Crimea. This novel expedition consisted of seven steam and two sailing vessels, of the aggregate tonnage of 5,491 tons, and 900-horse

power, as follows:—*Lady Alice Lambton*, screw-steamer, 511 tons, 90-horse power; *Great Northern*, ditto, 578 tons, 90-horse; *Earl of Durham*, ditto, 554 tons, 90-horse; *Baron von Humboldt*, ditto, 420 tons, 60-horse; *Hesperus*, ditto, 800 tons, 150-horse; *Prince of Wales*, ditto, 627 tons, 120-horse; *Levant*, paddle-steamer, 694 tons, 500-horse; *Wildfire*, clipper sailing ship, 457 tons; *Mohawk*, ditto, 850 tons. The amount of material for the railway carried out by these vessels will astonish those unaccustomed to calculate upon such matters. It consisted of 1,800 tons of rails and fastenings, 6,000 sleepers, 600 loads of timber, and about 3,000 tons of other material and machinery, consisting of fixed engines, cranes, pile-engines, trucks, waggons, barrows, blocks, chainfalls, wire rope, picks, bars, capstans, crabs, and a variety of other plant and tools; besides sawing-machines, forges, carpenters' and smiths' tools. This material was distributed over the different vessels in such a manner that, in the event of any one or two vessels being lost or disabled, the efficiency of the expedition would not be endangered. The ships conveyed 500 workmen, in parties of from fifty to eighty; each party being under the charge of a foreman and assistant. Every vessel carried a surgeon and a clerk to attend to the victualling and care of the stores. Each "navvy" was supplied with the following articles of clothing, suitable for the voyage and for the work he would have to perform after arriving in the Crimea:—One painted bag, one painted suit, three coloured cotton shirts, one red flannel shirt and one white, one flannel belt, one pair of moleskin trousers; one moleskin vest, lined with serge; one fearnought slop, one pair of lindsey drawers, two blue cravats, one pair of leggings, one pair of boots, one strap and buckle, one bed and pillow, one pair of mits, one rug and blanket, one pair of blankets, one woollen coat, one pair of long waterproof boots, one pair of fisherman's boots, one pair of gray stockings, and two pounds of tobacco.

In addition to the above liberal provisions for the wants of the labourers, a portable stove was provided for every ten men. Ten huts (each capable of housing forty men), 100 railway covers, such as are used for the protection of goods' waggons, and temporary tents and huts impervious to wet. While everything was provided to render their work efficient, the sanitary condition of the men was not forgotten. The medical staff

consisted of a surgeon, four assistant-surgeons, and four nurses, selected from the first hospitals in London. An ample stock of medical stores and comforts was provided, and a large number of Dean and Adams' revolvers, in case of need. A selection of books was provided for the use of the men, and two railway missionaries accompanied the expedition. It was anticipated that the vessels would reach Balaklava by the 1st of February, 1855, and that the tramway would be laid down before the end of that month.

The vessels sailed separately about the commencement of the new year (1855.) The second detachment left Blackwall in the *Hesperus*, on the 2nd of January. An interesting scene took place on this occasion. About two o'clock the men, in their new attire, were mustered on the foredeck, where they were addressed by Captain S. W. Andrews, managing director of the North of Europe Steam Navigation Company, and by Lord Henry Clinton, who, with a party of gentlemen connected with the enterprise, were on a platform amidships. Captain Andrews, to whose vigilance and activity much of the efficiency of the arrangements were due, addressed the navvies in a manner so adapted to their condition as to elicit hearty cheers from his auditors. He told them, that though the accommodation on board ship necessarily differed considerably from what they had been accustomed to, yet nothing had been neglected that could contribute, during the voyage, to their comfort, and to the preservation of that health and strength on which so much reliance was placed, not only by their employers, but by the whole country. Everything that could be done had been done, as far as human foresight could effect it for them; and if they would only be united and cordial among themselves, exhibit good temper, cheerfulness, docility, confidence, and respect towards those placed over them on board, they would be as happy as the circumstances of the case would possibly permit in a lengthy voyage at this period of the year. For his own part, he could unhesitatingly say, that he never knew an emigrant vessel—and he had known many—that had furnished quarters preferable to those on board the *Hesperus*. After explaining the more immediate objects of the expedition, and dwelling upon its importance as an auxiliary to the operations of our brave soldiers in the Crimea, Captain

Andrews added:—"They were going to the aid of our heroic defenders, who had not only to fight—and how they fought the whole world would for ever admiringly testify—but had also to work as field-labourers, and perform many duties for which it could not be expected that soldiers were so well adapted as the skilled and trained men who were now going out to relieve them, and to leave them at full liberty to deal with the enemy as they had done in the dashing rush at the Alma, and the immortal conflict at Inkermann. The future success of the siege operations in the Crimea would depend in a great measure on that expedition. They must expect, and would not be cast down by, hardships and privations. Some of these, perhaps, would not appear so terrible in the Crimea even as they would at home. There would be no public-houses to go to, but there would be plenty of good substantial refreshments, always available when needed; and while that was the case, he had no fear that there would be much grumbling at whatever work might be expected at their hands. They were not like Russian serfs, who dare not call their souls their own, but who must slay or be slain without asking wherefore. They were free Englishmen, volunteers, at perfect liberty to go or stay, just as they pleased, according to their own unbiassed judgment, without the least undue influence, concealment, artifice, or exaggeration used to warp their opinions one way or the other. All that was said or done was to guarantee them good clothing, good food, good pay, a good ship, and a good captain. They had also a good cause—the cause of their country, the cause of justice and fair play. They would bring good hearts to that cause—English hearts, that never recoiled from the obligations of duty, come in what shape they might, whether at the point of the pick or the bayonet; and he doubted not that the British navy would prove himself as great a benefactor in repelling the evils of barba-

rism abroad, as he had been in extending the blessings of civilisation at home."

Loud cheers followed the termination of the captain's speech, and, at his suggestion, three lusty cheers were given for the queen, and three for Messrs. Peto and Betts. Lord Henry Clinton then presented himself to the jolly-faced, hard-handed audience, and said, that it had been the intention of his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, to be present, as his grace would have been proud to make the acquaintance of the men who were going with so much alacrity to the aid of an object he had so much at heart as the Balaklava and Sebastopol railway, but that he was unable to attend owing to a cabinet council being held that day and at that hour. His lordship also dwelt on the importance of the undertaking, and enforced Captain Andrews' admonition as to the necessity of maintaining sobriety, union, and good-humour in the face of every annoyance to which they might unavoidably be exposed; for then he was sure that the energy for which they were so deservedly famous, would carry them triumphantly over every impediment. The disinterested, self-sacrificing promptitude with which Mr. Peto had acted upon the suggestion which led to so magnificent an enterprise as the one they were embarked in, was beyond all praise; even the praise it had everywhere been met with. He concluded by earnestly wishing them a safe and pleasant voyage, and a speedy return to their families and to the country, which they might be sure would welcome them as they deserved. This speech was followed by cheering for his lordship, and by more cheering for the Duke of Newcastle; and, finally, amidst still further cheering—clear, hearty, and joyous—the *Hesperus* steamed down the river amidst the plaudits of an immense number of spectators.

Greatly were the navvies and the railway needed at the Crimea; the state of our troops there was melancholy and terrible.* It was

* A French paper, the *Patrie*, contained at this period the following truthful criticism upon the state and organisation of the English troops:—"While the French army is advancing its works, and receiving in abundance all that is necessary to shelter, clothe, nourish, and comfort its soldiers, in return for the sacrifices they make for their country—while the wounded are the subjects of intelligent and anxious attentions—while a regular system of transports insures a supply for all branches of the service—the English army, notwithstanding the stores sent out by its government, is in a position of inferiority with regard to all the subjects we have named. Its siege

works are more tardy, attention is not so quickly given to the wounded, provisions are not so abundant, clothing is frequently wanting, and the means of transport are much less considerable. This is so true, that the first of the two armies has frequently had the happiness of assisting its ally and of supplying it with necessaries. Whence does this arise? From one cause alone—the difference of organisation in the two armies. The English army is brave, disciplined, immovable under fire, because these qualities are innate in the people of Great Britain, because its officers, gentlemen in the noblest acceptation of the term, know what is due to their own

affirmed, that Lord Raglan, to whom the English parliament had so recently voted their warm and enthusiastic thanks, secluded himself from his troops either in consequence of a cold and haughty disposition, or because he felt himself unable to mitigate evils he could not behold without the most painful regret. Which of these was the true cause we cannot say; but the fact was reiterated in letter after letter which arrived from the Crimea.* We have already included many letters from the camp in this work, and will not, therefore, now swell our pages with more; but from one or two telling and picturesque, though terrible, gloomy extracts, we cannot refrain. "Every one is grumbling and growling, being thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair. Everything is grossly mismanaged—the command of the army, the commissariat, the ordnance and all, are none knows where. Every one leaves everything to the others to do; and, consequently, nothing is done. Lord Raglan has not been seen for three weeks, and the report is he has gone to Malta for the winter. In fact, he has succeeded in giving general dissatisfaction. There is nothing but discontent prevailing, from the heads to the subordinates of the army here—despondency everywhere." Another letter, dated December 11th, says:—"I can assure you it has been dreadful—up to our shoe-

honour, and to that of the nation whose flag they defend; but the army is not a national army in the full acceptance of the term. The English soldier is a volunteer, serving in the ranks from love of the profession of arms, or some other motive; his horizon is bounded, for he knows that, whatever be his worth or the value of his services, he is stopped at a grade beyond which he cannot hope to pass. The officer is the proprietor of the men as much as the state; the country therefore is not all in all for the soldier. This is the radical vice in the primary organisation. But, in addition to this, they have none of those administrative services which are completely indispensable to a regular army. In France—and we may be justly proud of it—the army is eminently national; every citizen can and ought to be a soldier in his turn; he has a right to apply to himself the expression of one of his sovereigns, and to say with pride, 'There is perhaps a marshal's baton in my knapsack.' For him, if he possess merit and courage, if he be fortunate enough to render services to his country, there is no limit between the lowest and the highest grade in the military hierarchy. He may aspire to the loftiest dignities; he may one day sit at the table of kings. Under the grey *capote* of the simple soldier, under the epaulet of the grenadier, or the embroidered coat of the marshal, are three soldiers, united by the same dangers, leading the same life, partaking the same privations, and each equally proud of his uniform. The sentinel who presents arms to his general may hope that,

tops in slush and dirt in the trenches; and there we have to remain for twelve hours in the wet and cold. I have seen as many as four men die in a night in the trenches with the cramp, from wet, cold, and fatigue. We are getting more regiments out here now, and it is the fresh ones that suffer the most, as we are pretty well inured to it now. The 62nd landed about a fortnight back, and I heard yesterday they had lost ninety men. The 46th landed about the same time, and I hear that they have lost more. The 9th landed last week, and they are burying five and six a-day. The 1st royals lost ten in one night; we lost seven, as we had a draught of recruits on the 22nd ult."—"We are obliged to keep our men, who, until last week, were nearly naked, without a shirt on their backs, a shoe or sock on their feet, exposed to the wet and cold for twelve hours at a time in the trenches, ankle-deep in the slush, and, when in the advanced works, unable to move or stand upright from the constant fire of the Russians. Can it be wondered that these men should say that they would rather die than go back to the miserable camp? The tents all leak, and the men are lying fifteen together in a place where no English gentlemen would put their pigs. The only rations are salt meat, and of that, for some time, they have only had half-quantities. The

some day, others will present arms to him; the officer who returns the soldier's salute, knows that, some day, that soldier may be his equal. No one will ask, in the most aristocratic saloon, 'Whence comes that man?' provided he wears an epaulet; for that epaulet and sword are a title of nobility all over the world. It is this which makes the profession of arms so esteemed in France; this is the reason why our army is so eminently national, why its organisation is so strong and so good, why everything may be expected from it."

* The following is a curious instance of the utter confusion which prevailed in the British port of the Crimea:—A vessel arrived at Balaklava loaded with boots and shoes. Having no bill of lading, and the cargo being merely stated as shoes for the army, the vessel was ordered out of the harbour to wait her turn. A few days afterwards an order came from Lord Raglan to obtain a vessel to proceed to Constantinople instantly on a most pressing service. This vessel was consequently ordered to proceed to Constantinople, with Lord Raglan's agents, without unloading. When she had nearly reached that place, one of the agents imparted in confidence to the captain, that he was going to Constantinople to purchase boots and shoes, the army being in a great state of destitution for want of a supply. The captain replied with astonishment, "Why, my vessel is filled with boots and shoes!" Upon this the ship was put immediately about, and returned to Balaklava.

pitiful gill of rum even can be seldom issued regularly. The commissariat do all they can, I believe, but the wear and tear of animal power dragging up those dreadful arabas is so great, with the roads as they have been—two feet deep in the heaviest clay—that without a constant importation, we shall be brought to a standstill; forage, too, is very scarce, and the wretched animals are dying all over the country; the Turkish drivers also are dying fast.”—“Lord Raglan (*if Lord Raglan be really here, and not in London*) is never seen. Whether he knows anything of how things are going on or not, I do not know; I am sure he ought to do so.”—“Our men are a mass of dirt, and rags, and misery. They seem sunk in despondency and indifference; nothing moves them but an alarm, for they have no hope but to fight it out and get it over.”—“Our encampment is one mass of graves and dead bodies of horses and cattle, but there is no offensive smell.”

With such terrible relations as these (and we could quote fifty more such), is it strange that the leading journal of England should have raised its voice in alarm and indignation? Is it strange, that in words like the following, they should have mourned over the condition of our neglected troops, and have spoken with bitterness of those who were guilty of that fearful neglect? “At the present moment (the commencement of the year 1855), our poor fellows are perishing before Sebastopol by hundreds from famine, from exposure, and from disease in many appalling forms, while the means of sustenance, of shelter, and of remedy, are stored within eight miles from the spot in which this dismal tragedy is being enacted. There is no longer any use in concealing or mitigating the truth; the men are perishing from the want of common forethought upon the part of those who should be responsible for their safety. Fifteen thousand British soldiers, in the prime of their strength—in the heyday of life—well-disciplined men, who would not have turned from the face of a human enemy, let him come in what shape he might, have been laid low by official incompetence and procrastination at home and in the field. We know of no passage in the annals of even Turkish warfare, which tells of a more complete wreck of human life for want of common foresight, than the accounts we daily receive of the condition of our army before Sebastopol—of the living and of the

dead. There is but one set-off against the incompetency of the officers at head-quarters, and that is, the sheer pluck and spirit of the British soldier, of the unflinching, fearless man who is found dead on the battle-field pierced with wounds—his face to the enemy’s lines—or in the trenches where he has perished from hunger, exposure, and fatigue.”

Rumours of these melancholy events reached the ears of royalty, imperfectly no doubt; but it seems the queen knew sufficient to excite her tenderest sympathy for her suffering troops. Under these circumstances, she addressed the following interesting communication, written with her own hand, to Mr. Sidney Herbert, and through him to Mrs. Herbert, by whom it was transmitted to Miss Nightingale:—

“Windsor Castle, Dec. 6th, 1854.

“Would you tell Mrs. Herbert that I begged she would let me see frequently the accounts she receives from Miss Nightingale or Mrs. Bracebridge, as I hear no details of the wounded, tho’ I see so many from officers, &c., about the battle-field, and naturally the former must interest me more than any one.

“Let Mrs. Herbert also know that I wish Miss Nightingale and the ladies would tell these poor noble wounded and sick men that no one takes a warmer interest, or feels more for their sufferings, or admires their courage and heroism more than their queen. Day and night she thinks of her beloved troops. So does the prince.

“Beg Mrs. Herbert to communicate these my words to those ladies, as I know that our sympathy is much valued by these noble fellows.

(Signed) “VICTORIA.”

We shall conclude this chapter with the following despatch, descriptive of the condition of the siege as far as our allies were concerned. It is addressed to the French minister of war, and is dated December 22nd, 1854. It is necessary to say a word or two in explanation of the reference made in it to the landing of the Turkish troops at Eupatoria. In consequence of the occupation of the principalities by an Austrian army, the presence of Omar Pasha and his troops in Moldavia, for defensive purposes, was considered no longer necessary. It was also acknowledged that Omar was not strong enough to attack the powerful Russian army collected in Bessarabia; the Turkish troops

therefore fell back on Varna, from whence they embarked in considerable force for Eupatoria. As to the famous Turkish leader, he proceeded to Constantinople, where he received from the Porte an injunction to take the command of the Ottoman troops in the Crimea.

Monsieur le Maréchal,—The bad weather has continued, with rare and short intervals of improvement. We nevertheless continue, as much as possible, to encircle the place with our trenches, and all the siege operations become perfect and solid, notwithstanding the rainy season, which renders the transport very difficult.

The two armies mutually assist each other. I am indebted to the English army for the transport of nearly all the cavalry I have under my orders in the Crimea, and, on my part, I have placed at the disposal of Lord Raglan my mules to convey his sick to Balaklava, and teams to convey his ammunition. These exchanges contribute to keep up excellent relations and perfect cordiality between the two armies.

There scarcely passes a night without some points of our lines being attacked by sorties which generally cost dear to the assailants.

Yesterday, at two, A.M., the Russians, after having made a sortie on the third parallel of the English, who vigorously repulsed them, made also a demonstration upon the centre and left of our works. Received by a very brisk and well-directed fire, they withdrew before our soldiers, who pursued them at the point of the bayonet. The enemy left a great number of dead upon the ground.

To make the guard of our trenches more efficacious, I have organised a corps of volunteers, whose duty it is to keep the approaches of our works clear of the enemy at night. I expect good results from this institution, which completes that of the *francs-tireurs*, organised since the commencement of the siege, and who do duty by day in the trenches. They have already done much injury to the enemy.

As I have already informed you, our works extend actually to the bottom of the Quarantine Bay. The enemy's attention is drawn to the efforts we are making on that side, and his artillery sharply disputes the ground with us, where, as nearly everywhere, we are obliged to hollow out the rock; but our progress is not the less real, and we remain in possession.

I have informed you that the enemy

had withdrawn his left and evacuated the portions of the valley of Balaklava where we formerly saw them in considerable numbers. I was desirous of ascertaining their exact position in that direction, and the day before yesterday I pushed forward a *reconnaissance* to the vicinity of the village of Tchorgoun, consisting of a brigade of cavalry, under the orders of General d'Allouville. They came upon some hundred riflemen behind the village of Camara, and drove them back into the ravines. Detachments of cavalry, accompanied by their artillery and some battalions of infantry, appeared on the flanks of the *reconnaissance*, but did not attempt to interrupt its operations, which were happily accomplished.

At the same time 1,000 infantry, Scotch and Zouaves, left Balaklava, on the right of our position, and explored the heights which extend towards the valley of Baidar. They only met a post of Cossacks.

To resume, I am of opinion that on the left bank of the Tchernaya there are only pickets of the enemy observing our positions from a distance. A movement has evidently taken place in the Russian army, caused probably by the landing of the Turkish troops, which continues at Eupatoria. I shall soon know the real state of the case.

Although the number of the sick has somewhat increased, in consequence of the perpetual wet in which we live, the sanitary condition of the army is satisfactory, and its moral condition perfect.

If the troops have suffered much from the rain, it has not yet been cold: the snow, which for some time has covered the tops of the mountains inland, has not yet fallen upon the plain which we occupy, and the thermometer has not yet in a single instance been below zero (freezing point of Fahrenheit.) These general conditions are rendered better by the care taken of our men, and, thanks to the wise foresight of the emperor and his government, the army enjoys relative comforts which make it gaily support the fatigues it has to undergo.

The number of sick in our military hospitals at Constantinople is 3,794, of whom 1,387 are wounded. I have established in the Crimea, near the Bay of Karatsch, a depôt of convalescents, where the men who leave the army ambulances, and who only require rest, will regain their strength, and be enabled to return to their duty. This measure will diminish the number sent to Constantinople.

His imperial highness Prince Napoleon, still retained at Constantinople by the malady which forced him to leave the Crimea, wished to rejoin us. I opposed his

return, which might compromise the health of the prince.

I am, &c.,
CANROBERT, General-in-chief.

CHAPTER II.

MANIFESTO OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS; ATTITUDE OF RUSSIA, AND FEELINGS OF THE TURKS; ADMIRALS DUNDAS AND HAMELIN REPLACED BY LYONS AND BRUAT; NICHOLAS DECLARES HIS READINESS TO ACCEPT THE FOUR POINTS AS A BASIS OF TREATY FOR PEACE; SARDINIA JOINS THE ALLIES; LANDING OF A TURKISH ARMY AT EUPATORIA; REASSEMBLING OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT; MR. ROEBUCK GIVES NOTICE OF A MOTION FOR A COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO THE STATE OF OUR ARMY BEFORE SEBASTOPOL; CONSEQUENT RESIGNATION OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL, AND EXPLANATION OF HIS CONDUCT; DEBATE ON MR. ROEBUCK'S MOTION, AND DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT; RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY; MANLY DEFENCE OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE; MINISTERIAL INTERREGNUM; LORD PALMERSTON BECOMES PREMIER; LORD JOHN RUSSELL GOES TO VIENNA AS PEACE PLENIPOTENTIARY; LORD PALMERSTON'S PLAN FOR MILITARY REFORMATION; RESIGNATION OF MR. GLADSTONE, SIR JAMES GRAHAM, AND MR. SIDNEY HERBERT; RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MINISTRY.

For some time we have been compelled to be silent concerning the deeds and sentiments of the obstinate cause of the war, the Emperor Nicholas. The emotions of his heart and the workings of his mind were, like himself, shrouded from the gaze of Europe. Remote from the scene where his wretched people were led like beasts to the shambles—isolated in his desolate grandeur, he yet dictated the dark moves of this fearful contest with a resolution that betrayed no intention of succumbing to the powers arrayed against him. At length he broke his silence, and on the 14th of December (old style), issued the following imperial manifesto to his subjects:—

By the grace of God, we, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., make known:

The causes of the war, which still lasts, are well understood by our beloved Russia. The country knows that neither ambitious views, nor the desire of obtaining new advantages to which we had no right, were the motives for those acts and circumstances that have unexpectedly resulted in the existing struggle. We had solely in view the safeguard of the solemnly recognised immunities of the orthodox church and of our co-religionists in the East. But certain governments, attributing to us interested and secret intentions that were far from our thoughts, have complicated the solution of the question, and have finished by forming a hostile alliance against Russia.

After having proclaimed as their object the safety of the Ottoman empire, they have waged open war against us, not in Turkey, but within the limits of our own realm, directing their blows on such points as were more or less accessible to them—in the Baltic, the White Sea, the Black Sea, in the Crimea, and even on the far distant coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Thanks to the Most High, both in our troops and in all classes of our subjects they everywhere meet with intrepid opponents, animated by their love for us and for their country; and, to our consolation in these troublous circumstances, amid the calamities inseparable from war, we are constantly witnessing brilliant examples and proofs of this feeling, as well as of the courage that it inspires.

Such are the defeats more than once inflicted on the enemy's troops on the other side of the Caucasus, notwithstanding a great disparity of force. Such was the unequal conflict sustained with success by the defenders of the coasts of Finland, of the convent of Solovetsky, and of the port of Petropaulovsky, in Kamschatka. Such, above all, is the heroic defence of Sebastopol, signalised by so many exploits of invincible courage and of indefatigable activity, as to be admired and done justice to by our enemies themselves.

Beholding, with humble gratitude towards God, the toils, the bravery, the self-denial of our forces both by land and sea, and also the general outburst of devotion that

animates all ranks of the empire, we venture to recognise therein the pledge and augury of a happier future.

Penetrated with our duty as a Christian, we cannot desire a prolonged effusion of blood, and certainly we shall not repulse any offers and conditions of peace that are compatible with the dignity of our empire and the interests of our well-beloved subjects. But another and not less sacred duty commands us, in this obstinate struggle, to keep ourselves prepared for efforts and sacrifices proportioned to the means of action directed against us.

Russians! my faithful children! you are accustomed to spare nothing when called by Providence to a great and holy work—neither your wealth, the fruit of long years of toil, nor your lives—nor your own blood, nor the blood of your children. The noble ardour that has inflamed your hearts from the first hour of the war will not be extinguished, happen what may; and your feelings are those also of your sovereign.

We all, monarch and subjects, if it be necessary—echoing the words of the Emperor Alexander in a year of like trial, “the sword in our hands and the cross in our hearts”—know how to face the ranks of our enemies for the defence of the most precious gifts of this world—the security and the honour of our country.

Given at Gatchina, the 14th day of the month of December, in the year of grace 1854, and the thirtieth of our reign.

NICHOLAS.

There is in this manifesto a less confident tone than that which pervades the previous productions of the czar. He ventured to recognise in the real or assumed devotion of his subjects, “the pledge and augury of a happier future.” This would seem to imply that he beheld but a gloomy present; that the hostilities of the allies were keenly felt by his people—as indeed they must have been, in consequence of a crippled commerce and an humbled nationality. Dogged as the resistance of Russia had been during the great contest in the Crimea, her position as a great power was humiliating in the extreme. Her soil invaded, her coasts insulted, her capital threatened, her trade paralysed, her merchantmen carried away by the enemy, her ports blockaded, and her navies slinking within her harbours beneath the shelter of stone batteries. For a great empire to

assume such an attitude, was for it to tremble upon the brink of disgrace, and for ever to lose caste among the nations of Europe. It is to be observed, also, that the manifesto declares the emperor will not repulse any offer and conditions of peace compatible with his dignity. The vision of universal empire had been blown to the winds; the air-palace of fancied domination over Europe was shattered; the pleasant dream had become troubled, and the sleeping despot awakened to the reality of his position. Nicholas felt that his attitude was one of dangerous isolation.

Having referred to Russia, let us give a passing glance at Turkey at this period. The treaty between Austria and the Western Powers gave great satisfaction to the Turks at Constantinople. They looked to the separation of Austria from Russia as the pledge of their future safety, for they well knew that hitherto they would have fallen before Nicholas and Francis Joseph whenever those two potentates chose to combine. Notwithstanding the immense military power of Austria, and the fact that a resolute invasion by that state of the Russian territory would doubtless have brought the war to a close, yet it was considered by the Turks, that the military assistance of Austria was a matter of small importance compared with the guarantee for her future policy thus given by her desertion of her imperious and exacting protector, the czar. The Turks, indeed, were by no means sanguine as to the result of the war. They believed that it would probably check the aggressive spirit of Russia, ensure the safety of Europe, liberate Germany from something resembling a degrading vassalage to the czar, and add to the military glory of France and England. They believed it might do all this; but in these matters, except the first, the Turks felt no interest, and they dreaded to reflect on what might be the result of the war to themselves. The most perceptive of the Osmanli feared that their country might be subjected to a lengthened occupation by the allies, especially by the energetic French, who had established themselves at every commanding point, and dealt with their prejudices in a somewhat cavalier manner. The Turks also looked to Austria as a power which should counterbalance the influence of England and France. Many of them are by no means anxious to see the Russians too completely humbled; “for who,” they inquire,

"is to send away the French and English?" They did not believe that the czar would succumb, even though Prussia joined the other powers, and Russia had to bear the attack of all the great states of Europe. A feeling of the invincibility of Russian obstinacy prevailed among all classes of the Turks, which, though weakened by the evacuation of the provinces, revived again after the fruitless attack on Sebastopol on the 17th of October. The Mussulman and Christian inhabitants of Turkey mingle much with each other, and have, in many respects, the same ideas, superstitions, and prophecies, though, of course, what is looked upon with hope by one communion is a cause of despondency to the other. Among the great body of the Greeks, the idea existed that God was fighting for the Russians, and the idea was entertained by the same classes among their opponents, who considered that the prophet had turned away his face from his people. The Turks made up their minds that there was to be a long war, but that they would have very little to do with it. They regarded themselves as safe for the time being, and were content to leave their future destiny to fate and the Western Powers.*

* A writer from Constantinople (January, 1855) has the following highly interesting remarks on the feelings of its Mohammedan inhabitants:—"Now that immediate danger from Russia is past, and the enthusiasm of a few months since has died away, or been drowned in blood and losses, the feelings of the Turkish race have been much changed. Every other impulse is now swallowed up in the desire to get rid of the western armies. The terrible image which is ever before the eyes of Mussulmans is the elevation of the Christian races to an equality with themselves. This they believe the West will insist upon; and they have a not unnatural feeling, that the presence of two armies in their territory will give them little choice in the principle or details of any changes. No one who has any acquaintance with the Turks can doubt their utter discouragement as to the result of the present occupation, and of their wish, at any cost, to bring it to a close. The feeling is deepest among those in power, who have most to lose in the shape of unworthy influences and illegal gains. If, when peace is concluded, the allies should urge a further stay of their armies on Turkish soil, it is most certain that the project will be opposed with all the desperate pertinacity which is characteristic of the race, and which has so often baffled the most vigorous diplomatists armed with the justest arguments. As to the future, the world may be assured that the Turk will never call in allies again."—"Since the struggle before Sebastopol began, the so-called Russian party among the Turks has gained no little strength. This is of course not a party with any real predilection for Russia, or one which wishes to see the czar at Constantinople; but it consists chiefly of the least advanced and most fanatical of the wealthier pashas.

Turning to English affairs, we must here notice the retirement of Admiral Dundas from the command of our fleet in the Black Sea, and the appointment of Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons in his place. This change gave great satisfaction, for it had been long felt that Admiral Dundas had not exhibited that zeal and energy which was naturally expected from one in his exalted and responsible position, and that, in fact, the services of the Black Sea fleet, so far as they had been available, were owing entirely to the unflagging activity of Sir Edmund Lyons. On leaving the fleet at Constantinople, from whence he returned to England, Admiral Dundas issued the following farewell address to those who had served under his command:—

"H.M.S. *Britannia*, in the Bosphorus,
December 22nd, 1854.

"My term of service as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean and Black Sea having drawn to a close, I am about to return to England, and give up the command of this fleet.

"During the past year many trying circumstances have occurred—pestilence in its most aggravated form, action with the enemy

By a Russian party is meant those who think it most prudent to lean on Muscovite protection, and to allow the czar a right of interference and the chief voice in the councils of the empire, through a confident hope that he will, for his own interest, preserve the present system, at least during their time. The Turk has now ceased to look beyond the present generation. The absence of the idea of family encourages the state of feeling which is expressed in the phrase 'after me the deluge.' The great body of the richer Turks are childless; their wives constantly practise abortion, since with this sensual race a woman who has had a child generally loses the affection of her husband. The consequence is, that these men look only to their own time, and fancy that Russian ascendancy will give them, during the next twenty years, the tranquillity and authority which they have always enjoyed, while the reforming and humanitarian West will destroy the system under which they have become rich, and raise to a troublesome equality the energetic races whom they are beginning to fear."—"It is an unfortunate circumstance that England and France have not conciliated, or even tried to conciliate, any of the races which inhabit this land. In all the pomp and pride of civilisation they came here to settle matters by the sword, and during the last year every western print has been full of the worthlessness and depravity of Oriental races, from the Pruth to the Persian gulf. The Turks, indeed, were the subjects of a temporary enthusiasm, but the flight of a few hundreds of them from an ill-constructed battery, was sufficient to wipe away the triumphs of Citate and Silistria; and since that time they have been ill-used, ridiculed, and beaten in a manner that has created a most bitter feeling among high and low in Stamboul."

against land defences such as ships hardly ever encountered, and a tempest of the most awful violence.

"In all those events the good conduct and gallantry of the fleet have been evinced and proved.

"In taking an affectionate leave of the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet, I can hereafter experience no higher gratification than the assurance that they preserve their high character for discipline, enterprise, and devotion to our sovereign and country.

"J. W. D. DUNDAS,

"Vice-admiral, Commander-in-chief.

"To the admirals, captains, commanders, officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet in the Mediterranean and Black Sea."

On the retirement of Dundas, Admiral Hamelin was also replaced by Vice-admiral Bruat, a distinguished officer of the French navy. On resigning his command, Admiral Hamelin was promoted by the emperor, and his successor published the following order of the day:—"Officers and seamen,—We are about to lose our worthy chief; his illustrious services have received their reward. After having called on me to second him, the emperor has called on me to replace him. Faithful to the traditions bequeathed to us by a glorious past, we shall continue to lend to our valiant army, and to our brave allies, that warm co-operation to which he has already rendered such flattering and cordial justice. On the day of combat the same patriotic cry will still rally us round the flag of France—*Vive l'Empereur!*"

About the time that Sir Edmund Lyons assumed the command of the fleet, an incident occurred which, though trifling in itself, must not be forgotten. It was the first instance of that spirit of civility which so eminently characterised Peninsular warfare. Hitherto, all communications about the exchange of prisoners, or the burial of dead, were received by the Russians in a surly manner at variance with the practice of civilised western nations. On this occasion an instance of generous appreciation for a valiant enemy was exhibited by a Russian officer. The *Stromboli* having been

sent to Sebastopol with a flag of truce, in order to take back a Russian artillery officer in exchange for Lord Dunkellin, Sir Edmund Lyons took advantage of the opportunity to send a cheese as a present to the Russian admiral, with whom he had been acquainted in former days. Shortly afterwards the civility was returned. A fourteen-oared boat came out from the town and brought a deer as a present back to Sir Edmund Lyons, together with a polite note from the Russian admiral, in which was the following passage:—"The Russian admiral remembers with pleasure the time of his acquaintance with Sir Edmund, and regrets not to have seen him for so long, except the other day, when he came in rather close with the *Agamemnon*."

We mentioned in our last chapter, that at the conference held at Vienna to consider what further steps Austria would take in the event of peace not being restored, Prince Gortschakoff, who was present as the representative of Russia, asked for a fortnight's further delay, that he might receive instructions from the Emperor Nicholas as to whether he would accept the four points as a basis on which to treat for peace. Before the expiration of the fourteen days, the emperor answered that he accepted the four points without reserve, and negotiations were entered into with a view to peace, but with an understanding that hostilities would not be suspended in the meantime. The sincerity of the Emperor Nicholas in this proceeding was much doubted, it being conjectured that he would merely attempt to weaken, if not to dissolve, the frail bond of union that existed between Austria and the Western Powers.

Though peace was talked of, the allies continued their preparations for war with unabated vigour. In the commencement of the year (1855) they were also joined by a new state. The Sardinian or Piedmontese government* signed the protocol of April, 1854, and the king, Victor Emmanuel, gave in his adhesion to the Western Powers. This important step was taken in virtue of the fifth article of the convention between the Queen of England and the Emperor of the French. That article was as follows:—"Their majesties the Queen of the United

their capital city. The population of the kingdom of Sardinia amounted to 4,650,368 in the year 1838. The origin of the kingdom of Sardinia was Savoy: it was successively enlarged by the annexation of Piedmont, Nice, and Sardinia, and its present limits date from the commencement of the eighteenth century.

* The kingdom of Sardinia consists of two parts. First, the island in the Mediterranean, from which it receives its name; and second, of its continental territories; these latter consisting of Savoy, Piedmont, Nice, and Genoa. Piedmont is the metropolitan or central portion of the Sardinian States, and Turin is

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of the French will readily admit into their alliance, in order to co-operate for the proposed object, such of the other powers of Europe as may be desirous of becoming parties to it." The Piedmontese government expressed its intention of sending 15,000 picked men of the Sardinian army to the theatre of war to share the fatigues and honours of the struggle. The King of Sardinia engaged to provide for the pay and provisioning of these troops, and also to keep up their numerical strength by reinforcements. On the other hand, France and England guaranteed the integrity of the Sardinian States, and engaged to defend them against any attack during the war. It was further agreed, that the Queen of England should recommend to her parlia-

ment the advance of a million of money as a loan, for which four per cent. interest should be paid; and should the war not be at an end at the expiration of twelve months, her majesty was to recommend a loan of another million on the same terms.*

The adhesion of the Sardinian government to the allies was hailed by the *Times*, in an article of considerable eloquence, from which we extract the following passage:—"The critical times in which we live, the great events that are continually occurring, bring out, in strong and unwonted relief, the character of men and of nations, and show us, in one place, a people tamely sinking below its position and its opportunities, and, in another, one gallantly rising above them. Look at the present position of Prussia, a nation armed to the teeth, and

* The reasons of the Sardinian government for joining the allies are fully expressed in the following address, read on the 26th of January, by Count Cavour (the minister of foreign affairs) to the chamber of deputies at Turin:—"Gentlemen,—The eastern war, having called forth new interests to combat on the field of politics, has rendered new alliances necessary. The course of old diplomatic traditions was all at once interrupted, and both from a careful consideration of the present serious moment and of a future from which the greatest prudence alone can avert the dangers, it was clear to every government that, in the face of complications so unexpected on the world's stage, it was necessary to seek a new system that should procure strength, supports, and remedial acts, to provide against the altered circumstances. England and France first gave the world the generous example of the most complete forgetfulness of their secular differences, descending united to the field where they combat in the cause of justice and the common rights of nations. The other governments, watching the rapid progress of events, dispose themselves to take that part in them that necessity or the convenience of their own policy may require. In such serious circumstances, and in the midst of such general preparations, the government of the king would have been gravely wanting in duty had it not attentively considered how to act for the good of the king and the state, and, having made its choice, had it not resolutely put it in execution. The alternatives were two:—

"Neutrality—that is to say, isolation; or

"Alliance with the Western Powers.

"Neutrality, sometimes possible to powers of the first rank, is seldom so to those of the second, unless placed in special, political, and geographical circumstances. History, however, rarely shows happy instances of neutrality, the least sad results of which terminate in making those who adopt it either objects of suspicion or disdain to both contending parties. To Piedmont, moreover, the high heart of whose kings inspired at all times a resolute policy, alliances have always been more pleasing. Piedmont has succeeded in making herself accounted more by Europe than her limited territory would appear to warrant, because in the day of common peril she has always known how to face the common fate; as also because

in times of tranquillity it was part of the rare wisdom of the princes of Savoy to reform, by slow degrees, adapting the political and civil laws to the new wants, the natural consequences of the incessant conquest of civilisation. She might, it is true, by one thing or the other, from force of circumstances, have fallen, though, if she had done so, she would have risen again; but she was never held in scorn, or put aside; she never broke the bond that bound her to her kings, and always found her safety in the fidelity and esteem that she has known how to inspire. A new proof of both was the proposition of an alliance to the government of his majesty on the part of those of her majesty the Queen of England and of his majesty the Emperor of the French. The examples of history, the anticipations of the future, the noble traditions of the house of Savoy, all unite to drive the ministry from a timid, idle policy, and to lead it instead by the old road, followed by our fathers, who knew true prudence to exist in sharing the sacrifices and perils encountered for justice, whence arose increased reputation or benefits after victory. By order of the king, who on this occasion, as always, has shown himself equal to the greatness of the event, and to the virtue of his house, the formal adhesion to the treaty of the 10th of April has been accomplished, and at the same time were drawn up the two conventions to regulate the manner of co-operation to be lent by Sardinia in consequence of this act. We come, therefore, to submit them for your approbation. The fruit of a prudence which tends to courage and generosity, we believe that this treaty will obtain your consent more than it would have done had it been suggested by a timid prudence and shortsighted calculations. You, elected by a people who have a heart devoted to their princes when they should follow on the path of sacrifice and honour, cannot feel it in your hearts to act otherwise. To the Cross of Savoy, as to that of Genoa, the road to the east is known. Both have shown themselves victorious on those fields, where this time they will shine united on our banner. Placed now between the glorious standards of England and France, it will know how to prove itself worthy of such high company, and that God, who for eight centuries has supported the fortitude and faith of the house of Savoy, will bless it."

heretofore considered one of the five great powers of the world, entering into engagements from which she shrinks as soon as she has entered into them, till at last, left fairly behind by the onward course of events and European diplomacy, she is reduced to petition for leave to be present at conferences in which she has lost all voice and all power of participation. Here is a power unequal to her destiny, inferior to the part which her place in the European confederacy assigns to her, sinking into a second-rate position, merely because she has not spirit to act a first-rate part. Then look at Piedmont, a large portion of whose territory is occupied by rugged mountains and Alpine pastures, whose population is small, and whose geographical position is by no means commanding. Piedmont has hardly healed the wounds which she received from the sword of Radetsky in her bold but unequal conflict for Italian independence. The moderate form of government she has adopted, modelled as it is on our own constitution, exposes her alike to the hatred of the slaves of a repressive absolutism and the frantic votaries of a republican license. Her finances have hardly recovered the drain of the late war, and her people are still new to the constitutional system, which has ever proved more perfect in practice than in theory, and has not with them, as with us, the memories of six hundred years to strengthen and support it. Had the home policy of Piedmont been chargeable with inaction, or her foreign relations with timidity, here surely are causes of embarrassment and difficulty in which a candid mind would find ample ground for excuse. But Piedmont has shown herself neither timid nor inactive. Notwithstanding the pressure on her finances, she has, with admirable boldness and decision, reformed her whole system of taxation on the footing of free trade. Beset between absolutism on one side and republicanism on the other, she has been guilty of no undue compliance to either, but has maintained with dignity her liberties against the one, and her moderation and self-respect against the other. She is even now engaged in asserting her independence of the Roman pontiff, and vindicating, in despite of a numerous and bigoted party among her own citizens, her supreme power over all persons, both ecclesiastical and civil. Even while this great work is proceeding she has taken another step equally decided and significant. While Prussia dare do nothing

but offer mediation which nobody will accept—while Spain, rich in territory and in memories, but poor in spirit, in men, and in money, will not join in league against a government which refuses to recognise her very existence—and while Greece, as false to her interests as to her traditions, seeks to sell for the glories of an imaginary empire her liberty and political existence, Piedmont, acting for itself, under no pressure and no compulsion, has joined the confederacy against Russia.”

The Turkish government being desirous to co-operate with the allies, Omar Pasha received directions from the sultan to throw his forces into the Crimea, and proceeded to the camp of the allies on the 5th of January, where he concerted measures with the English and French commanders. His stay in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol was very brief, but its effects were soon perceived by the landing of 10,000 Turks at Eupatoria, being the first detachment of a numerous Ottoman army which shortly afterwards assembled at this spot. This was necessary, as it was reported that General Osten-Sacken would speedily commence hostilities against that place with a force consisting of 40,000 troops and eighty guns.

The British parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess, on Tuesday, the 23rd of January. In the House of Commons Lord John Russell, in answer to a question by Mr. Layard, gave the following comprehensive statement of what had occurred with respect to the negotiations for peace:—“At the end of November, the Russian government, through their minister at Vienna, declared their acceptance of what are called the ‘four points.’ On the 2nd of December, a treaty was signed by France, England, and Austria; and on the 28th of December, a meeting was held by the ministers of France, England, and Austria, at Vienna, with Prince Gortschakoff, the minister of Russia. At that meeting the French minister read, on the part of his own government and of the governments of England and Austria, the interpretation which those three powers put on the four points, and which should be considered as the basis of negotiation. I will mention only that with respect to the third point, it was proposed in that interpretation to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. Prince Gortschakoff stated that he would not agree to the proposed interpretation of the four points, but that he would

request further instructions from his government. Ten days afterwards he informed Count Buol that he had received those instructions, and on the 7th or 8th of January another meeting was held at the office of the Austrian minister for foreign affairs, and at that meeting Prince Gortschakoff read a memorandum which he said he had received, and which contained the views of his government. It was replied by Count Buol, Lord Westmoreland, and Baron de Bourqueney, that they had no authority to receive any such memorandum, and that they must require, as the basis of negotiations, the consent of the Russian plenipotentiary to the interpretation of which he had already received information. The Russian plenipotentiary then withdrew the memorandum he had read, and declared the acceptance, on the part of his government, of the communicated interpretation as the basis of negotiations."

A much more important matter, with regard to home politics in connexion with the war, occurred in the house that evening. Mr. Roebuck, the member for Sheffield, stated that, on the following Thursday, he should move for a select committee to inquire into the number and condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it was to administer to the wants of that army. This motion, which certainly ought to have been anticipated by the ministry, led to the most exciting results. The following Thursday (January 25th), it was announced, in both houses of parliament, that Lord John Russell had tendered to her majesty the resignation of the office he held as president of the council, and that the resignation had been accepted. Shortly after receiving this information, both houses adjourned to the following day, it having been stated in the Commons that Lord John Russell would take an early opportunity of stating to the house the grounds which had induced him to adopt the step he had taken. The retirement of his lordship from the cabinet, on the eve of a great parliamentary discussion on its past conduct, elicited severe animadversion from the press.

Great curiosity and excitement prevailed throughout the country; but anxious politicians had not long to wait. On Friday evening Lord Aberdeen stated, in the imperial parliament, that he was not fully possessed of the motives which had induced

his noble friend to tender his resignation; but he would read to their lordships a letter which he had received on the previous Tuesday. It was as follows:—

"Chesham-place, Jan. 23rd, 1855.

"My dear Lord Aberdeen,—Mr. Roebuck has given notice of a motion for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the war. I do not see how this motion is to be resisted; but, as it involves a censure upon the war departments conducted by my colleagues, my only course is to tender my resignation. I have therefore to request that you will lay my humble resignation of the office which I have the honour to hold before the queen, with the expression of my gratitude for her majesty's kindness for many years past.

"I remain, my dear Lord Aberdeen,

"Yours very truly,

"J. RUSSELL."

Lord Aberdeen added, that he was aware that his noble friend had been, for some time, dissatisfied with the conduct of the war; but that he (Lord Aberdeen) was certainly somewhat surprised, as well as deeply concerned, at receiving the letter he had just read. He stated further, that he felt it due to the honour, consistency, and sense of duty of the government, to meet the motion for inquiry which was that night to be made in the other house, and which would decide whether a censure was to be pronounced upon the government or not.

After some brief preliminary business in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell rose to explain his recent conduct. The house was fully attended; great excitement prevailed; and the silent hush of expectation was thus broken by his lordship:—

"At the request of my noble friend at the head of the government, I have postponed till this day the statement I wish to make with respect to my resignation of the office which I lately had the honour to hold—that of president of the council. I shall go at once to the matter, fearing that the statement I have to make may be prolonged more than I could wish it should be. On Tuesday last, when I was present in this house, the honourable and learned gentleman the member for Sheffield gave notice of a motion for a select committee 'to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.' Sir, I, of course, had thought that it would be probable some member might move for an inquiry of this kind. I had not, however, fully

considered the course that I ought to take. That, of course, depended much on the nature of the motion that might be made, and I should say, likewise, that it depended much on the quarter from which it might come. The honourable and learned gentleman the member for Sheffield, it is evident, is in a position to evince no hostility to the government, which he has supported, and I could not conceive that he had any other object than that which we have all at heart—the rigorous prosecution of the war. Now, sir, with respect to the power of inquiry, it is a most valuable privilege of this house. This house has no power of appointment, no power of directing the measures that may be taken; but by the power of inquiry it corrects abuses, it reforms maladministration, and strengthens these establishments which it may seem for a time to shake. A motion for inquiry, however, may be resisted on two grounds—the one, that there are no evils existing of sufficient magnitude to call for inquiry; the other, that sufficient means have been taken to remedy those evils, and that they will be best cured by other means than by a resort to the inquisitorial powers of this house. Now, with respect to the first of these grounds which I have stated, it is obvious that it is impossible to be resorted to. No one can deny the melancholy condition of our army before Sebastopol. The accounts which arrive from that quarter every week *are not only painful, but horrible and heartrending*; and I am sure no one would oppose for a moment any measure that would be likely not only to cure, but to do anything to mitigate those evils. *Sir, I must say that there is something, with all the official knowledge to which I have had access, that to me is inexplicable in the state of our army.* If I had been told as a reason against the expedition to the Crimea last year that your troops would be seven miles from the sea, seven miles from a secure port—which at that time, when we had in contemplation the expedition, we hardly hoped to possess—and that at that seven miles' distance they would be in want of food, of clothes, and of shelter to such a degree that they would perish at the rate of from ninety to a hundred a-day, I should have considered such a prediction as utterly preposterous, and such a picture of the expedition as entirely fanciful and absurd. We are all, however, free to confess the notoriety of that melancholy state of things. It was not therefore by denying the existence of the evils that I could hope to induce this house to reject the proposition of the honourable and learned gentleman; but I had further to reflect that I was in a position not to give a faint 'No' to the proposal—not to express in vague and equivocal language a wish that the motion should not be carried, or to use any evasion with respect to the letter of its terms with a view to defeat

the motion. It was my duty—a duty which, I trust, I have ever performed when in that situation—to stand in the front of the battle, and manfully to take my part in opposing the appointment of that committee. Then, sir, I had to consider whether I might not give the second reason for refusing the committee to which I have alluded—viz., that measures had been taken, that arrangements were in progress, by which those evils would be remedied, and by which the administration of the war would be vigorously and, as was to be hoped, successfully prosecuted. Sir, I should have been more disposed to give that reason, because it is obvious that the concession of a committee on the subject, a committee sitting for weeks, perhaps for months, would be fatal to the efficiency of those military purposes which it would chiefly affect. There was therefore the strongest inducement, if possible, to put forward such an objection to the inquiry which the honourable and learned gentleman proposed to make; but, sir, I found upon reflection that it was impossible for me to urge with effect, and according to my own conscience, and with truth, that objection to the proposition for a committee. I hope the house will here permit me to refer to some circumstances personal to myself, though they hardly come within the scope of the statement I have to make. When the office of secretary of state for war was separated from the office of secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Aberdeen thought it right to propose to the Duke of Newcastle to keep which of the two offices he should most desire. The Duke of Newcastle, with a commendable ambition, as I think, replied that, having exerted himself in fitting out a very large expedition, he should, of course, like to remain at the head of the department which should have the direction of the orders for that expedition and the general management of the war. Lord Aberdeen consented to that arrangement, and I was a consenting party to the appointment. At the end of the session the various members of the government, especially those who are members of this house, dispersed, as they usually do; and it appears to me that that dispersion, after the excessive labours of this house, is necessary to the due performance of their duties; and no one, unless he has to discharge very urgent duties, is to blame for resorting, for purposes of health, to distant parts of the country. I was not in any office which obliged me to take any part in the conduct of the war; but, during my absence, there was scarcely a day in which I did not both receive from and write a letter to my noble friend the secretary of state for foreign affairs with respect to the occurrences that were daily taking place. It has been said I went lecturing about the country at that time. The truth is, an honourable friend of mine, the member for Bristol, had said, on the day this

house separated for the holydays, that it would give great gratification to his friends at Bristol if I would attend a literary society in that place; and the day was named between us. Then, when I was coming from the north, and being at the house of my brother, he informed me that his neighbours in Bedford would be gratified if I would attend a literary meeting in that town. I complied with these two requests, which certainly did not exhaust much time, or call for much study with respect to what I had to say. I conceived, however, that, as president of the council, these meetings were not very alien from the objects of that office. It has, nevertheless, been cast on me as an imputation that I attended to the request of these gentlemen. But, passing from that to a more important point, I have to state that, having attended all the cabinet councils that met on this subject, I wrote to my noble friend Lord Aberdeen at the time that I supposed there would be cabinet meetings—at the beginning of October—that I should be ready to attend them whenever they met. My noble friend, in reply, informed me that he should not return from Scotland till the 14th of October, and on the 17th of October a cabinet council was held, which I thought it my duty to attend. But in the course of that month, and from the beginning of the month of November, it struck me that a better administration of affairs relating to the war was required. I made up my mind with considerable difficulty. It was a matter that affected, in some degree, the reputation of a colleague who had not long before assumed the office which he held; but, still, I thought that duty imperatively called upon me to state my views, and a correspondence ensued between my noble friend at the head of the government and myself, from which I shall be obliged to read some extracts in order to put the house in possession of the ground on which I came to the decision at which I arrived on Tuesday evening last. The correspondence itself is long, and enters into the details of some personal matters it is quite unnecessary to quote; but, as it is, I must request the house to listen to the representations which I thought it necessary to make and to the answers I received. I wished, if possible, to put the matter in a light that would bear rather the air of a different official arrangement than any displacement of individuals. I therefore stated the question of the war department in two points of view—the one as referring to an arrangement which it was necessary to make, in consequence of the pledge given to this house last session that the whole of the war department should be considered with a view to arrangements which should provide for its efficiency; and the other point of view relating to the carrying on of the war. With respect to the first point, I said I thought it was of the utmost importance that a person

of the rank of privy councillor should hold office in this house, upon whom should devolve the moving of the war estimates, and who should be an authority able to answer the various difficult questions which I foresaw would come before the house. I will not trouble the house with any details on that part of the subject, but I proposed that the office of secretary of state for war and the office of secretary at war should be held by the same person. In a letter addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen on the 17th of November, 1854, I said—‘From the other point of view the prospect is equally clear. We are in the midst of a great war. In order to carry on that war with efficiency, either the prime minister must be constantly urging, hastening, completing the military preparations, or the minister of war must be strong enough to control other departments. Every objection of other ministers—the plea of foreign interests to be attended to, of naval preparations not yet complete, and a thousand others, justifiable in the separate heads of departments, must be forced to yield to the paramount necessity of carrying on the war with efficiency of each service, and completeness of means to the end in view. . . . If, therefore, the first considerations here presented lead to the conclusion that the secretary of state for the war department must be in the House of Commons, the latter considerations point to the necessity of having in that office a man who, from experience of military details, from inherent vigour of mind, and from weight with the House of Commons, can be expected to guide the great operations of war with authority and success. There is only one person belonging to the government who combines these advantages—my conclusion is, that before parliament meets Lord Palmerston should be intrusted with the seals of the war department.’ That is the opinion I gave, confidentially, to the Earl of Aberdeen. Before I read the Earl of Aberdeen’s answer, I have to say that, the Earl of Aberdeen having requested some days to consider a matter of such importance, I wrote to him again on the 18th of November, stating that I concurred in that delay, adding—‘I wish, however, that before you decide you should show my letter to the Duke of Newcastle. It was my intention in writing the letter to avoid throwing any blame upon him. Indeed, I think he deserves very great credit for the exertions he has made. But he has not had the authority requisite for so great a sphere, and has not been able to do all that might have been done with larger powers of control.’ To my letter Lord Aberdeen replied—misstating my proposition, I must say—that he could not acquiesce in the proposal I had made. On the 21st of November he writes thus:—‘Your proposal being founded on the supposed impropriety of Herbert moving the estimates, and

the consequent necessity of the secretary of state for war being in the House of Commons, renders the removal of the Duke of Newcastle from his present office unavoidable. But, although you would regard this as the inevitable result of an official arrangement, it is not to be supposed that it would be considered in this light by the public, or, indeed, by any impartial person. The dislocation of the government would be so great, and the reason assigned for it apparently so inadequate, that it could only be considered as a mode of substituting one man for another. Although you may be far from entertaining any such desire, the transaction could receive no other interpretation. In justice to the duke, I do not think that his colleagues, without very strong grounds, would wish to place him in such a position.' In the other parts of his letter Lord Aberdeen stated that he did not think any man would undertake the duties which I proposed should be undertaken by one person—viz., those of secretary of state for the war department, and, at the same time, secretary at war. He considered it to be necessary that a privy councillor's office should be maintained, and that that office should be held in connexion with the finances of the army, independently of the secretary of state for the war department. He stated also—a consideration well deserving of attention—that it might be desirable that hereafter some military chief, who was in the House of Lords, should have the office, and, therefore, it could not be always held by a member of the House of Commons. I considered the various objections of Lord Aberdeen, and on the 28th of November I wrote as follows:—'I come, therefore, having cleared the ground of all these obstructions, to the real question, what are the requirements of the great war in which we are engaged? Setting aside all historical references, both on your part and mine, I think it is clear either that the prime minister must be himself the active and moving spirit of the whole machine, or the minister of war must have delegated authority to control other departments. Neither is the case under the present arrangement.' I went on to give some instances of errors that had been committed owing to that want of power and control. I then said—'The cabinet has, it is true, in its recent meetings, done much to repair omissions; but a cabinet is a cumbrous and unwieldy instrument for carrying on war. It can furnish suggestions, or make a decision upon a measure submitted to it, but it cannot administer. What you want, therefore, I repeat, is a minister of war of vigour and authority. As the welfare of the empire and the success of our present conflict are concerned, I have no scruple in saying so. Keep up, if you think right, as a temporary arrangement, a secretary at war. Make it clear that it is tem-

porary—that is to say, only to last till more complete consolidation can take place; but let parliament and the country be assured that you have placed the conduct of the war in the hands of the fittest man who can be found for that duty.' In answer to this, I received a long letter from Lord Aberdeen, which I shall read to the house. It is dated November 30th, 1854, and is as follows:—'After all, I think your letter plainly reduces the question to the simple issue of a personal preference, and the substitution of one man for another. In answer to my suggestion that some consideration was due to the duke on the part of his colleagues, you say that you understood the administration was founded on the principle of doing what was best for the public service, without regard to the self-love or even the acquired position of individuals. Undoubtedly this was the case; and I fully agree in thinking that the Duke of Newcastle would be the last man to wish for any exception to this rule in his favour. But I must observe that at the formation of the government no such office as the war department was contemplated; and when, subsequently, the colonial-office was divided, no objection whatever was made to the choice of the war department by the duke; nor, as far as I am aware up to this moment, to his management of the office. Now, I think you will admit that, although another person might perhaps have been preferred on the first constitution of an office, it is a very different thing to displace a man who has discharged its duties ably and honourably, merely in the belief that another might be found still more efficient. Undoubtedly, the public service must be the first object; but, in the absence of any proved defect or alleged incapacity, I can see no sufficient reason for such a change, which, indeed, I think is forbidden by a sense of justice and good faith. . . . On the whole, then, believing that any change like that proposed would be of doubtful advantage to the public, feeling very strongly that it would be an act of unfairness and injustice towards a colleague, and thinking, also, that all such changes, unless absolutely necessary, only tend to weaken a government, I must repeat that I could not honestly recommend it to the queen.' Lord Aberdeen spoke to me afterwards on this subject, and asked me when I intended to bring the question before the cabinet; and I, certainly after a good deal of hesitation, told him that, as he had said he could not honestly recommend that change to the queen, and as I did not wish to do anything which might tend to disturb his government and remove him from office, I should not press the matter further. I should say that my hesitation arose very much in consequence of the opinion of other high authorities, with whom I for years—during the whole of my political life perhaps—have been

living in the closest intimacy, who told me they thought the change unadvisable, and that it would weaken that which I meant to strengthen, and who advised that I should not press it. Now, when I stand here to justify my resignation, and when I am told, as I have been, that I have acted prematurely, I own that the doubt that presses on my mind is whether I ought not at that time to have brought the question of this change to an issue. But among those who urged me not to do so was the noble lord himself, the secretary of state for the home department, who at the time when the correspondence took place was absent, and to whom I afterwards read it. He urged me, considering the objection which had been made, not to press the matter any further. However, that being the case with respect to men, I have further to consider what was the case with respect to measures. I have reminded the house that last year a pledge was given that a new arrangement would be made of the military departments, with a view of rendering them more efficient. I myself had the honour of serving on two commissions having for their object the consolidation and improvement of those departments. Various commissions reported from time to time, and it is now, I think, twenty-two years since the first of them was appointed. At the commencement of the war, then, that which before had been expedient became urgent and necessary, and that consideration to which I have referred was due to the interests of the public and to the expectations of this house. The only change I was able to announce in the session before Christmas was that the commissariat was placed under the war minister. With respect to any further change I heard no mention until a proposal was made in the cabinet—I think on Saturday last. I reflected on that proposal, and then I went to my noble friend at the head of the government, and told him that, after considering the proposal, I thought it incomplete and inefficient. I gave him also a paper containing my own views on the subject. This, the house will observe, was very lately; but I had no reason to expect that my views would be adopted. I had therefore to consider, when I came to reflect upon the Tuesday evening on the course to be taken on the following Thursday, whether I could fairly and honestly say, 'It is true that evils have arisen; it is true that the brave men who fought at the Alma, at Inkermann, and at Balaklava, are perishing many of them from neglect; it is true that the heart of the whole of England throbs with anxiety and sympathy on this subject; but I can tell you that such arrangements have been made—that a man of such vigour and efficiency has taken the conduct of the war department with such a consolidation of offices as to enable him to have the entire and instant control of the whole of the war-offices,

so that any supply may be immediately furnished and any abuse instantly remedied.' I felt I could not honestly make such a declaration. I could not say, after what I had written, that there was a person with such power and control, and of sufficient energy of mind and acquaintance with details, at the head of the war department. I could not say either that the arrangement which had been proposed on Saturday last—that the consolidation of the military departments had either been carried into effect or was in prospect in such a way that I could pledge the faith of government to the efficiency of the arrangement. Well, feeling this—giving the matter the most painful attention—feeling also, as I have already said, that I could give no faint nor faltering opposition to the proposition of the honourable and learned member for Sheffield, and that I must get up, if I opposed it at all, and stand in the way of that which many would think might afford a remedy for those sufferings and distresses which had been complained of, or, at least, if it failed in doing that, might point out a way for their correction and remedy—feeling, too, that many members of this house would look for an assurance on my part which they would be ready to act upon, as they did so far honour me with their confidence, that efficient alterations had been made, I was conscious that I should be repaying that confidence with treachery if I gave an assurance of the kind knowing it not to be true. Well, it appeared to me, no doubt, that the members of the government could hardly remain in office if such a committee as the one proposed were appointed; that it would not be, I will not say dignified, but consistent with the practical good working of our institutions, that there should be a minister sitting on that bench to govern the war, and that the military departments should be at the same time constantly overlooked and checked by a committee sitting upstairs; and that the minister for war should have not only to consider what he was to do in order to provide for the ordinary necessities of the war, and to attend to applications from day to day, but must also consider the evidence to be adduced with respect to his conduct five or six months ago. Such a state of things could not be consistent with the efficiency of our administrative system. I therefore felt that I could come only to one conclusion, and that as I could not resist inquiry, by giving the only assurances which I thought sufficient to prevent it, my duty was not to remain any longer a member of the government. It would be competent for others, if they thought either that everything necessary had already been done, or would be done, consistently to oppose the motion for inquiry; but for my own part I felt that I could not do so, and I therefore wrote in very short terms, not quite accurately stating the

terms of the motion, a note to the following effect. (His lordship here read the note which the Earl of Aberdeen had produced in the House of Lords.) To that note I received no answer; but on the following evening my noble friend informed me that he had been to Windsor with my resignation, and that her majesty had been pleased to accept it, with the gracious expression of her great concern in doing so. This, then, so far as this immediate statement is concerned, is my case with respect to my own conduct. Those ministers who believe that they can successfully oppose inquiry,—who believe that they are right in respect to what has been done and what is doing, will be perfectly justified in taking the part of objecting to the proposed committee. I should have been out of place in such company. But at the same time I must say, that I have heard that there is a rumour, and I hope a true one, that the arrangement which I proposed in my first letter of the 17th of November, or rather in my subsequent letter—namely, that of placing the seals of the war department in the hands of the noble lord, the home secretary, has been made. I shall greatly rejoice if that is the case, for I believe it will be of great benefit to the country that my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) should hold that office. I shall be glad to think that my retirement from office has in any way contributed to that change, and I believe it must in some way have contributed to it; for otherwise I have no doubt that my noble friend, Lord Aberdeen, with the fairness and candour which belong to him, and which I always found in him, would have answered the letter I have just read, by saying that circumstances had in some respect changed, that that which he could not honestly recommend to the queen in November he had thought necessary at the present time; and that therefore my difficulty in opposing the motion of inquiry might be in some degree lessened, if not entirely removed. That cannot have been the case. This must have been a subsequent arrangement, and I shall be very glad if my retirement from the less important office, in the present conjuncture, of president of the council could have led to the appointment to the war department of my noble friend the home secretary. Having stated thus much with respect to my position and the position of the government, I have not regularly any right to go further, but as perhaps I shall take no part in the debate on the motion of the honourable and learned member for Sheffield, and as it is not my intention even to give a vote on the question, I may be permitted to say somewhat more in reference to the present state of public affairs. I should state, in the first place, that I believe that all parties in this house, without distinction, are anxious that the war should be carried on by the most vigorous measures, until we can obtain a just and honourable

peace; and I repeat my opinion, that those measures, which are the most vigorous for the prosecution of the war, and those terms of peace, which are most decidedly and unquestionably just and honourable, will meet with the most favour from all parties in this house. I thoroughly believe that if any triumph attends her majesty's arms, those who are in opposition to Lord Aberdeen's government will as heartily rejoice in that triumph as the government themselves. This at least gives great facilities at present for carrying on the government with success. What further I have to say is, that I do not think that the general aspect of affairs abroad at all warrants the depression which I see it has in some quarters produced. No doubt the accounts which we have received from our camp before Sebastopol are gloomy and disheartening; but with respect to the great objects of the war in which we are engaged, I believe that our prospects are by no means gloomy. When I spoke on a former occasion with reference to Austria, my language was most erroneously construed as depreciating the conduct and intentions of that power. Now, I wish to give every credit and importance to that which Austria has done. It is in consequence of the large armaments she has made, the equipment of her army to the extent of 500,000 men, the entrenchment and strengthening of points which were weak, and the raising of an enormous force of cavalry—it is in consequence of these preparations that the Emperor of Russia has abated much of his pretensions, has been ready to consent to terms which in last August he utterly rejected, and that he now seriously considers whether or not he will make those concessions which are necessary for the purpose of procuring peace. It is in a great degree owing to the admirable ability and, still more, the admirable patience exhibited by Lord Clarendon in his negotiations that we have the advantage of Austria throwing her weight into negotiations, with the assurance that if a peace such as she thinks safe for Europe cannot be obtained she will act with the allies, bringing with her the aid of 500,000 men. We have, in the next place, to rely, without the smallest hesitation or doubt, on the fidelity of our ally, the Emperor of the French, of whose good faith, besides all other actions and all other assurances, I saw and heard such proofs during my last residence in his capital that I cannot have the slightest hesitation in assuring the house that the two countries of England and France will remain united to the end of this great struggle. Well, then, with these advantages, I think we may hope to see one of two things—one, no doubt, more desirable than the other; but the other, at the same time, an honourable course, and one from which we should not shrink:—either the Emperor of Russia will make those concessions which will

be just and honourable for England, for France, and for the safety of Europe; or, if he should fail in making those concessions, there will be such a force of European arms collected against him that final triumph must attend those arms. I could not help expressing this conviction on the present occasion, because I think that, whoever may be minister, he may rely, first, on the patriotic feeling and loyalty of this house, next on the unflinching alliance of the Emperor of the French, and thirdly, on the assistance of the Emperor of Austria, if honourable terms of peace cannot be obtained. Perhaps I may be permitted to say, as I have now left Lord Aberdeen's government, that I cannot refrain on this occasion from quoting the words of Sir Robert Peel, with respect to that noble lord, and also from declaring that, in my opinion, they are fully justified. When Sir Robert Peel was leaving office he said—'My noble friend has dared to avow that there is a moral obligation upon the Christian minister of a Christian country to exhaust every effort for the maintenance of peace before incurring the risk, not to say the guilt, of war. But while he has not shrunk from the manly avowal of that opinion, I will, in justice to him, add this—and it is perfectly consistent with that opinion as to the moral obligation of maintaining peace, while peace can be maintained with honour—that there never was a minister less inclined to sacrifice any essential interest, or to abate anything from the dignity and honour of this country, even for the purpose of securing that inestimable blessing.' I believe the opinion thus expressed to be perfectly just. My noble friend had entered into this war not until it was necessary, and it was only a few days ago that I had a long conversation with him on the terms of peace with which we ought to be satisfied; and I must say I entirely concurred in all he said, and had the fullest reliance that he would not concur in any peace which is not just and honourable, and which would not be approved by the general feeling of this country. Perhaps I may say a few words with respect to the government I have left, and for joining which I have been often taunted. I cannot but say that I look back to my association with many of the measures and acts of that administration with great pride and satisfaction. I look back, above all, with the greatest pride and satisfaction to that speech of eloquence and wisdom delivered by my right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer when proposing his financial scheme two years ago, and maintaining, as I believe, the true principles of finance. It is a satisfaction to me to think that the splendour of that exhibition was so great as to shed some portion of its brilliancy on those who were his colleagues. I know it was said at the time when that administration was formed, that those with whom I had always been connected—

the whig party—had not, in the distribution of power, that degree of influence that properly belongs to them on account of their character, abilities, and numbers. It always appeared to me before that period that a very unjust notion had found its way among the public to a very great extent—namely, that the whig party was an exclusive party and required all power and office for itself, and was not prepared to support any system of administration in which it did not enjoy that monopoly. I must say I think that opinion was an unjust one, and the conduct of the whig party during the last two years fully justifies my opinion. I will venture to say that no party ever behaved with greater honour or more disinterested patriotism than the whig party, who, during the whole of that period, has supported the government of Lord Aberdeen. It is my pride, and it will ever be my pride to the last day of my life, to have belonged to a party which, as I conceive, upholds the true principles of freedom and the just influence of the people, and, whether in or out of office, it will be my constant endeavour to preserve and to maintain the principles which the great whig party has laid down."

This speech of Lord John Russell was not generally regarded as justifying his abrupt desertion of the ministry. Most persons condemned it either as a cowardly flight from duty, or as an unworthy intrigue to obtain the premiership for himself. Lord Palmerston, who spoke on the part of the government, submitted to his noble friend that the course he had taken was not in correspondence with the usual practice of public men, and that it was calculated to involve the government in a position of embarrassment, in which they ought not to have been placed by the hands of a colleague.

Mr. Roebuck then rose to bring forward his motion for inquiry into the conduct of the war and the state of our suffering troops. He said that the question naturally divided itself into two parts; first, what was the condition of our army before Sebastopol; and secondly, how that condition had been brought about. From the shores of this country 54,000 soldiers had been sent; and it appeared, from the best information, that there were not then more than 14,000 men actually in arms before Sebastopol; and that, of those 14,000, less than 5,000 were in a state of health. Alluding to a letter he had recently received from Constantinople, Mr. Roebuck remarked: "The writer also says he is sure that the British army will, within two months, be totally destroyed;

and, speaking of a general who has been out there, and has now returned, he states that, in accordance with his opinion, and the opinions of those most likely to be well-informed, he is firmly persuaded that a great disaster is about to befall the army now before Sebastopol. Fourteen thousand men, then, remained out of the whole 54,000. I want to know, sir, what has become of the 40,000 troops who have disappeared from the ranks of your army?" In answer to the next inquiry—how that state of the army had been brought about, he observed: "My belief is, that it has been produced by incapacity at home and incapacity abroad; by incapacity on the part of those whose duty it is to minister to that army's wants." Mr. Roebuck, who had long been in a delicate state of health, was unable, from want of strength, to proceed with his address, and he resumed his seat amidst loud cheers. After a vehement debate, the house was adjourned until the following Monday. Of the long, excited, and in some respects brilliant debate that occurred on that evening, it would lead us too far from our path were we to enter into a digest of it here.* Many painful disclosures were made, and much recrimination took place; but, at the close, the opinion of the country was expressed loudly and unequivocally. It was past two

* In the course of the debate, Mr. B. Osborne prided himself upon the circumstance that the admiralty (to which he himself belonged) had escaped censure. He then added the following singular facts with reference to our military system:—"Will any man tell me that our military system, as existing at present, has tended to develop or bring forward military talent or genius? Look, sir, in the first instance, how the staff of the British army is composed. It is all very well for honourable gentlemen to come down and talk of consolidation of the ordnance, the horse-guards, and the commissariat under one head, and the substitution of one minister for another; I maintain, whatever may be the inherent vigour of that man, whatever may be his experience, a mere consolidation will not be sufficient; *you must reconstruct your whole military system.* The time has arrived when you cannot expect an army, besides winning battles in the field, to go through the vicissitudes of a campaign under the present state of things. You must lay an unsparing hand on that building adjacent to these premises; you must see whether, in fact, you can find a modern Hercules to turn the serpentine through the horse-guards and all the ramifications of the war-office. Look at the constitution of the staff. In France the staff is regarded as the head of the army, and officers only are placed on it who possess a knowledge of military science and display fertility in expedients. In England every one knows that it is not merit and capacity for which an officer is appointed to the staff, but interest and connection. Let any honourable gentleman move for a return of the officers employed on

o'clock in the morning when the house divided on a motion for a select committee of inquiry, when the following was the result:—

Ayes	.	.	.	.	305
Noes	.	.	.	.	148

Majority against the government 157

This majority at once sealed the fate of the ministry; for it was regarded not only as an expression of a want of confidence in them, but also as a vote of censure. In consequence of the anniversary of the "martyrdom" (as it is absurdly called) of King Charles I., the House of Lords adjourned from Monday until Thursday, and the Commons followed its frivolous example. The mind of the nation was distracted with doubts and anxieties, and the brave English army at the Crimea was slowly perishing for want of assistance; but still, even under these circumstances, a foolish and parasitical formality must be gone through, and several valuable days sacrificed in token of mourning for the fate of an equivocating despot who courted his own doom!

On Tuesday morning a cabinet council was held, at which all the ministers agreed to resign, and at two o'clock Lord Aberdeen started for Windsor to communicate that intelligence to the queen. Within a staff in the Crimea, showing how many speak French, how many can trace a common military field plan. I will venture to say not one-third can do it. I attack no individual, I attack the system. Why, if anything were to happen to Lord Raglan, will any gentleman tell me where we are to select a general for the chief command. It has been suggested to borrow one from the French army. How can you possibly have a succession of generals when the first thing you do is to debar any man who has any peculiar talent for command from entering your army unless he can lodge a large sum of money and purchase every step. The regulation price—and no man gets it for the regulation price—of the commission of a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry is £8,175. I have known instances in which £15,000 have been so expended. The regulation price for the commission of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry is £4,500. How is it possible, then, that any but a rich man can enter the army. * * * I say it is unfair to sacrifice a minister of war to the faults of your system, which this house has sanctioned and confirmed. If we are to have any reform in the British army, with a stern hand you must do away with the practice, and put the whole staff arrangements on a different footing. If you constitute another army on the same footing, I do not think it will do any better. It is not enough that they should win battles, they must go through campaigns; and we have seen the lamentable and disgraceful way in which this war has been conducted. I say, in this, I impute no inefficiency to the men. They are the victims of the system, and this house is to blame for having so long permitted it."

day or two her majesty left Windsor Castle and arrived at Buckingham Palace, animated by a desire to promote the public service and prevent that loss of time which must have resulted from the absence of the court from London at such a season of political agitation and embarrassment. In the meantime the Earl of Derby was summoned to the castle, and had an audience with the queen for the purpose of forming a new ministry.

When the lords assembled on Thursday, the Earl of Aberdeen informed them that, after the recent vote in the House of Commons, the government had felt it to be their duty to place their resignations in the hands of her majesty. He said, that while the late administration did not shrink from any inquiry into their conduct, he believed that such an inquiry would show that no indifference had been exhibited by them to the wants of the army in the Crimea. But little interest attached to the speech of the ex-premier: not so, however, to the manly defence of the Duke of Newcastle against the aspersions cast upon him by Lord John Russell (in the speech explaining his resignation), and the overwhelming refutation which he hurled at the head of his late colleague and accuser. "If," said a leading journal, "it be put to any impartial man to say, after having read the particulars of this transaction, whether he had rather stand before the people of England and the judgment of history as the Duke of Newcastle or as Lord John Russell, not one man in a hundred would hesitate to choose the fate of a minister who has fallen at his post, surrounded by his colleagues, rather than that of a politician who terminated his official career by flight, and sheltered that flight under a misrepresentation. The one may have been unfortunate in the selection of his instruments, but the other has been insincere in his dealings with his friends." We add, in a slightly condensed form, the speech of the duke. After a few introductory remarks, he thus continued:—

"No man can feel more than I do the inconvenience of thrusting upon parliament or upon the public what I may call domestic differences between colleagues in a cabinet, even at the moment of separation; but, my lords, in the speech to which I have referred, the noble lord placed the justification of the course which he had taken almost exclusively upon my acceptance of the office of secretary of state for war, and my subsequent continuance in that de-

partment. I therefore feel it necessary to state to your lordships some omissions which were made by the noble lord, and to afford some explanations consequent upon words which fell from him. The noble lord (Lord J. Russell) said, in one of the letters he addressed to my noble friend (the Earl of Aberdeen), and which he read to the other house of parliament, that when the two secretaryships of state were divided, he yielded to my strong wish that I should occupy the war department, thereby implying that he had been opposed to that course, that he had remonstrated against it, and that he had been overruled. Now, my lords, I venture to say that such was not the case, and, if I now enter upon any explanation with reference to what took place in the cabinet, I beg to say that I have applied to my sovereign for permission to refer to those occurrences—without which permission, undoubtedly, the oath which, in common with others of her majesty's councillors, I have taken, would have precluded me from alluding to such occurrences. In the cabinet at which it was determined that the two offices of secretary of state for the colonies and secretary of state for war should be divided, a discussion took place, in which I felt it my duty to point out to the cabinet the difficulties which would follow from that separation, unless, before it took place, the duties of the new secretaryship were accurately defined and some definite plan were laid down; and I stated at that time to the noble lord that I thought, in advocating that measure, he should have provided us with such a definite plan. I told him that I, encumbered as I was at that moment with two such laborious offices, had really no time to consider the organisation of departments, and that I regretted that, before the measure was proposed, some definite plan had not been laid down; but the noble lord expressed his opinion that, in deference to the wishes of parliament, the measure should be immediately adopted. The measure was determined upon by the cabinet, and I am sure the noble lord cannot have forgotten,—I am confident that none of my late colleagues who sit near me will have forgotten—that, at the conclusion of that discussion, my last words were these:—"The cabinet having now decided that the two secretaryships shall be divided, all that I can say, as far as I am personally concerned, is, that I am perfectly ready to retain *either or neither*." So much, my lords, for my 'strong wish' referred to by the noble lord. I can only say that, in any discussion of which I heard, I never understood for one moment that the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) had expressed any desire whatever that my noble friend, Lord Palmerston, should occupy the war department. I did hear that, for a time at least, the noble lord himself had contemplated the possibility of his taking that department, and most un-

doubtedly, if that had been the case, I should never for an instant have thought of standing in his way; but I do wish it to be completely understood, that I not only did not express a 'strong wish' on the subject, but that I expressed a perfect readiness to retain either of the offices, or neither of them, as my colleagues might think best for the public service, and might advise her majesty. I do not, at the same time, hesitate to say, that when no other member of the cabinet was put forward to occupy the department of secretary for war, I did not shrink from the duty of assuming that office. I certainly did feel that I should have been unworthy of having held those seals for three months, if I then shrank from what I knew to be a post of difficulty and of danger. Well, my lords, I think I have said enough to prove to you how unjust have been the imputations which have been made upon me, in parliament and elsewhere, that my 'presumption and self-love' induced me to insist upon taking the office of secretary for war. I hope I have sufficiently explained to your lordships the conduct which has been characterised by some as 'arrogance,' and, by the noble lord to whom I have referred, by the more patronising phrase of 'commendable ambition.' I will pass over, in the correspondence which took place between my noble friend lately at the head of the government, and the late president of the council, the letter which the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) addressed to my noble friend (Lord Aberdeen) on the 18th of November, in which he says:—'It was my intention, in writing the letter, to avoid throwing any blame upon him (the Duke of Newcastle.) Indeed, I think he deserves very great credit for the exertions he has made.' I do not wish to dwell upon this letter, or to attach any importance to it, because the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) himself stated, in the speech to which I have referred, that in reality he considered that letter as what our friends on the other side of the Atlantic are pleased to call 'soft sawder;' for he said that, when he spoke in these terms of me, he was still bent upon the object of my removal from office. This was his object. '*Si possis suaviter; si non, quocunque modo.*' The noble lord read extracts from letters which render it absolutely necessary for me both to make some comments upon them, and to read further extracts in explanation. I cannot help expressing some surprise—when the whole gist of the noble lord's speech was to represent my determination to hold the office of secretary for war, and my resolution to maintain it—that he did not quote the following sentence from the letter of my noble friend (the Earl of Aberdeen), dated the 21st of November, in answer to one which I think he had that day received from the noble lord the late president of the council:—'I have shown your letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and also

to Sidney Herbert. They both—as might have been expected—strongly urged me to adopt any such arrangement with respect to their offices as should be thought most conducive to the public service.' My lords, I have shown you, in the first instance, that I did not insist upon holding the seals of the war department; and I have also to state that, when my noble friend placed the letter of the noble lord in my hands, my answer was—'Don't give my Lord J. Russell any pretext for quitting the government. On no account resist his wishes to remove me from office. Do with me whatever is best for the public service. In that way you will gratify me the most. In that way you will be serving the queen best.' The noble lord (Lord J. Russell), after having read a portion of one of the letters of my noble friend, said, 'I went on to give some instances of errors that had been committed,' and he then proceeded to read further extracts. Now, my lords, the impression upon the public mind must of course be that these errors were of some grave character—that upon them hinged the safety of our troops in the Crimea—that, perhaps, to them was attributable the disastrous sickness which had prevailed. The noble lord did not read the complaints he had made of these errors, but with your lordships' permission, I will read them now. The noble lord (Lord J. Russell), in a letter dated the 28th of November, says:—'I will give you an instance but too pregnant with warning. Early in October I wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on the subject of transferring the 97th regiment, then at the Piræus, to the Crimea. He informed me, in answer, that he had wished to do so, and that he had also wished to send between two and three thousand men, the draughts of various regiments, to the Crimea. Now, why was he not able to carry his intentions into effect? Because he could not remove the obstacles put in his way by other departments, and because the prime minister did not at once overcome those obstacles. At a much later time the 97th was moved, and it is only to-day that I see, by a telegraphic despatch from Lord Stratford, dated on the 18th inst., that the *Orinoco* (which conveys that regiment) had left Constantinople for the Crimea. But, in the meantime, Lord Raglan had reported that he wished he had been able to place in the position of Balaklava, on the 26th of October, a more considerable force; and, also, that on the 5th of November, the heights of Inkermann were defended by no more than 8,000 British infantry. What can be done by a single British regiment was seen on the 5th of October, when the 93rd alone saved the position of Balaklava by their firmness and gallantry. Had 5,000 more men been at Lord Raglan's disposal on the 25th of October and the 5th of November, how much more fruitful, though not more glorious, might

have been those memorable days?' Now, these are the errors which I am supposed to have committed, and perhaps your lordships will allow me to give the explanation of those errors, which I gave in writing, I believe by return of post, to the noble lord. I informed him, with regard to the 97th regiment, that several days before I had received his letter it had been my desire to send forward that noble regiment to aid Lord Raglan in the Crimea, and that I applied to my noble friend, the secretary for foreign affairs, to know whether, in his opinion, it would be safe to remove the 97th regiment from the Piræus, and whether the objects for which it had been sent there had been sufficiently attained. In answer, my noble friend (Lord Clarendon) produced to me a communication he had received—I think that very day—in which the most earnest stress was laid upon the maintenance of the British and French forces in the Piræus; and we were told that, if those forces were to be withdrawn, the consequences to prevent which we had sent them out would immediately occur. That is my explanation; and is there any man who would maintain that a secretary for war would have been justified, with such a statement from the secretary for foreign affairs before him, in saying upon his own *ipse dixit*, 'I will remove the 97th regiment at all hazards, and send it to the Crimea?' That regiment was subsequently removed; and why? Because, some few weeks afterwards, I again earnestly pressed upon my noble friend (Lord Clarendon) to let me know the first moment when a change could be effected, and he wrote to me—I believe on the same day—to inform me that, though it was utterly impossible to part with a military force in the Piræus, that force might be somewhat reduced. I then desired that one of three regiments—whichever the general commanding might consider best fitted for the service, from the qualifications of the officers—with a strength of 600 men, should be sent to the Piræus, in order that the 97th regiment, which was 1,000 strong, might proceed to the Crimea. With regard to the second error attributed to me—that I was pressed to send out two or three thousand men, who were ready to proceed as draughts to the different regiments in the Crimea, and that I did not do so—I beg to inform your lordships that there were two reasons why such draughts were not sent out. The first was, that Lord Raglan had himself reported that the last draughts that had been sent out were composed of such young men, that, being exposed to attacks of cholera, which was at that time raging, they had fallen sick and had died rapidly, and Lord Raglan stated that, unless subsequent pressure should ensue, he would deprecate the sending out of these young soldiers before they were better fitted for service. There was, however, another reason

for the course which I pursued, and it was this—that at that time we had exhausted all the steam transports which could be obtained in this country, although others were daily expected from the colonies and from foreign ports, and the admiralty was not able to supply me with any transports at that moment for the conveyance of draughts to the Crimea. It is, therefore, perfectly true that my attention was drawn to these errors, as the noble lord has called them, but they were also answered; and although on the 28th of November these errors were brought forward as reasons why I ought to leave the war-office, at a date anterior to that, but subsequent to my answers, I had the better fortune to satisfy the noble lord; for in the last letter I received from him before he returned to town, he wrote the words I am now about to read. This letter, let me observe, was written at a time when the noble lord, as he himself has stated, with other members of the government, had resorted for purposes of health to different parts of the country. I don't complain of the noble lord, or of any of my colleagues, for having done so, but it was not my good fortune to be able to resort, for the purposes of health, or for any other purpose, to the country, and day by day, and hour by hour, during the whole of the year 1854, it was my duty to remain in town, and to exert myself to the best of my ability. I will now read the conclusion of the noble lord's letter, dated the 8th of October, which finished the correspondence with reference to these errors. The noble lord says:—'You have done all that could be done, and I am sanguine of success.' Now, my lords, let me explain why, after my proposal to my noble friend (Lord Aberdeen) with reference to my readiness to leave office, I did not take that course. I did not refuse to change office, disagreeable as it undoubtedly would have been to me to adopt such a measure, and inconvenient as I believe such a step to be to the public service, as implying arrangements which are not, perhaps, very obvious to the public. What, then, was the reason that my noble friend did not avail himself of the offer which I made? He did not act upon his own mere responsibility, but he laid the subject before the whole of my colleagues, and the proposal was unanimously disapproved of by the whole of them. My lords, the last letter of the series which passed is dated the 3rd of December, and the purport of that letter was that the noble lord retained his original opinion, and that he should bring the subject before the cabinet. I should add, that it was not, however, brought before the cabinet. Parliament met ten days afterwards, upon the 13th of December, and it was my duty to make a long statement to your lordships in vindication of the conduct of the government, and more especially of the department which had been under

my administration. My right honourable friend the secretary at war made a similar statement in the House of Commons. A debate in each house resulted; and I believe—although, probably, noble lords opposite may not entirely agree with me in that opinion—I believe—and undoubtedly it was the impression on the minds of the government and their friends in both houses—that the result of that debate was satisfactory as regarded the conduct of the government. Three days afterwards—on the 16th of December—a cabinet was held, and at the close of the meeting I exchanged observations with one, two, or three of my colleagues, who said that, from the conduct of the noble lord in the cabinet that day, and the interest which he had shown in all matters which were discussed before us, they felt very confident that he had abandoned the opinions which he had before entertained and expressed. But we were not long left, my lords, to conjecture upon that subject, for in the course of that very afternoon, in conversation with my noble friend at the head of the government, he told him expressly that he had altered his views, and abandoned his wish for a change. Now, my lords, having thus disposed of the personal part of the question, the noble lord proceeded to discuss in his place in the house the question of measures, and he said that he should have been glad to have opposed the motion of the honourable member for Sheffield, but that he was unable to do so, because he could not say that ‘measures had been taken, or that arrangements were in progress by which those evils would be remedied, and by which the administration of the war would be vigorously prosecuted.’ I think that the fair and just inference from that statement is, that the noble lord had proposed to his colleagues measures and arrangements which we had been unwilling to adopt. My lords, I know of no measures ever proposed by the noble lord which were rejected; I know of no proposals which he made which were not accepted, unless it be one. That proposal he refers to himself, in this form. He said that, at a cabinet which was held on the Saturday before the day of Mr. Roebuck’s notice and the noble lord’s resignation, arrangements were made by which the mode in which the business of the war department had been for some time conducted, viz., by calling together the heads of the military departments to my office, and conducting the business somewhat in the form of a board, though not with the formalities and strict rules of a board, was to be altered. A discussion having taken place in the cabinet that day, and an agreement having been made that greater formality should be given to those boards, and that they should be regularly constituted, either by a minute or by an order in council, I stated that I differed from the noble lord as to the propriety of such

boards. His opinion, however, prevailed, and it was agreed that, either by a minute or an order in council, those boards should be constituted, consisting of the secretary of state for war, the secretary at war, the commander-in-chief, and the master-general of the ordnance. The noble lord said that that question had been brought before the cabinet, and he implied that it had been decided upon adversely to his opinion. That was not exactly expressed by the noble lord, but it is, I think, the inference which is to be drawn. Instead of that, however, the proposal was brought forward by the noble lord himself, it was agreed to after a discussion, and I had every reason to believe that the noble lord was entirely a consenting party; but in the course of that meeting he sent to my noble friend at the head of the government a proposal to which he also referred, but which he did not quote. As it is of some importance to my case, however, I fear that I must read it. It is as follows:—

“‘*Army Departments.*

“‘January 22nd, 1855.

“‘The committee of the House of Commons on army and navy expenditure recommended that the army departments should be simplified and consolidated. What is now proposed is, that there should be a board consisting of—1, secretary of state; 2, secretary at war; 3, master-general of ordnance; 4, commander-in-chief; 5, inspector-general of fortifications.

“‘It is contemplated that there shall exist at the same time a board of ordnance, consisting of—1, the master-general; 2, the storekeeper-general; 3, the surveyor-general; 4, the clerk of the ordnance; under whose directions the inspector-general of fortifications will remain. It seems obvious that these two boards, acting at one and the same time, instead of consolidation and simplification, would produce complication, disorder, and delay. There are but two modes by which unity of direction and rapidity of action can be procured. The one is to give the secretary of state the entire direction of all existing offices and boards connected with the army; the other is to make a board, with the secretary of state at the head, absorbing the board of ordnance, and controlling the whole civil management of our military force. The constitution of this board and its functions would be—

“‘1. The secretary of state, to preside over the board and be responsible to parliament.

“‘2. The secretary at war, to pay the army and control its finances.

“‘3. The master-general of the ordnance, to arm the army and the navy.

“‘4. The commander-in-chief, to command the army.

“‘5. The clerk, storekeeper, and surveyor of the ordnance, all in one, to lodge the army.

“6. The commissary-general, to clothe and feed the army.

“This is nearly the Duke of Richmond's plan.

“J. RUSSELL.”

The noble lord said in his statement in the other house that he had no reason to think that his views would be adopted. Now, I can only say most positively, in answer to that statement from the noble lord, that I had no reason to think that his views would be rejected; because the first step which my noble friend took, upon receiving the communication which I have read, accompanied by an intimation from the noble lord that he should propose it on a subsequent day—on the evening of which he eventually resigned—was, after having shown it, I think, to the secretary at war, to send it to me for my opinion. My answer was, that there were but two proposals in that paper which differed from the arrangements in the cabinet of Saturday—one was to do away with the board of ordnance, in consequence of the constitution of a superior board; and the other was to add two more members to the board beyond those which were proposed in the cabinet. I said, as regarded the first proposal, that I thought that it was manifestly right. It was in accordance with my own views, and I added that, if it were proposed to constitute a superior board for the purpose of doing away with an inferior one, I would support it. With regard to the second proposal, for placing two additional members on the board, I said that I thought that it would be inadvisable. I did not think two of the officers named to be necessary; and, as regarded the sixth member—the commissary-general—no such officer existed; the office having been abolished some years ago. Therefore, so far as the main and principal portion of the noble lord's proposition was concerned, it met with entire approval; and, as regarded the second portion, the only reason against its being carried into effect with respect to one of the appointments was, that it was impracticable. My lords, upon such an important question as the conduct of the war, differences of opinion on incidental matters of course took place; but if I were to point out that member of the cabinet from whom I have received the most general assent to my views, it would be the noble lord. I received the most kind and generous support from all my colleagues upon all occasions; but, as regards identity of views, I should be inclined to say that upon all questions which were raised there was a more complete identity between the noble lord and myself than between any other members of the cabinet. Now, my lords, I have stated to you the ready way in which I consented to yield up my office, and even at times the views which I might have entertained; but notwithstanding the arrogance, self-love, and presumption which I am

supposed to have exhibited, I was not unaware—God knows it would have been strange if I had been—that public feeling had been roused strongly against my administration of the war. Before parliament met upon Tuesday, the 23rd of January, I was convinced that the feeling in the public mind had become so strong that it would be impossible for me, in justice to the public service, to continue to occupy the office which I held. My lords, the meeting of parliament was close at hand. I felt, if I had read rightly the history of constitutional governments, that it was not proper at such a moment to anticipate the verdict of parliament, and to run away from the duties and responsibilities which devolved upon me. The noble lord, in his statement with reference to the course which he had taken, said, that until the notice was given by Mr. Roebuck he had not fully considered the course which he ought to take. My lords, I had. I had maturely considered it; and, while I had made up my mind that my official career was practically brought to a close, I resolved at the same time that I would face the ordeal of censure in your lordships' house, and would submit the conduct of my administration to the judgment of the House of Commons. But, my lords, I felt that it was right that I should announce my determination; and a few days before the meeting of parliament, on the 23rd of January, I told my noble friend at the head of the government, that whatever might be the result of the discussions in this house or in the House of Commons—whether the government succeeded by a large majority in overcoming resistance and reproach, or whether they failed, I equally should tender my resignation as soon as that judgment should be given and the verdict of parliament should be pronounced. My lords, this, no doubt, was the origin of that rumour to which the noble lord referred at the close of his statement, when he said that he had heard that that arrangement which my noble friend had found it impossible to recommend in November he thought it necessary to adopt in January. I am sorry that any such statement should have been made, because, if such a rumour existed, it was not correct. It is true, as I have said to your lordships, that I had announced my intention to resign my office; but, so far from having announced my intention to be a party to any such arrangement as that referred to, I told my noble friend, in the first instance, and I told my noble and right honourable friends in the cabinet, when the cession of Lord John Russell rendered it necessary that my intentions should be announced, that I had made up my mind that I would retire, and that I would not take another office—that I would neither change offices with my noble friend Lord Palmerston, nor assume that which had just been quitted by the noble lord—that I would leave the

cabinet; but, as for changing offices, I positively and entirely refused to do so. I admit, undoubtedly, that personal feelings might to some extent have influenced me in that course, but I hope that I was influenced also by a higher and more important consideration. I felt confident that the public interest could not be served by my doing so—that, with the obloquy which had been heaped upon me, it was undesirable that I should continue to be the member of any cabinet, and that my presence in the government must be a cause of weakness and not of strength. I announced therefore that I would in future, if the government succeeded in the House of Commons, take my seat upon one of the back benches not occupied by those in office, and that I would come here night after night, whenever discussions were raised, ready to defend the policy to which I had been a party; because I felt of course that I was as much bound to do that as if I still continued to hold my office. Now, my lords, I have done with the statement of the noble lord which has led to this explanation upon my part. My lords, various accusations are made against me, of which one of the most prominent is that of incapacity. I should be the last man who ought to express any opinion upon that point. I am ready to leave that in the hands of others, perfectly conscious of many defects. I cannot but feel that that charge of incapacity is, with the public, a favourite explanation of every public misfortune. Whether it may be peculiarly justified in my case, or whether it may be attributable to the cause to which I have referred, I say I leave that to the verdict of others. But, my lords, other charges have been made, which I confess I have felt deeply and continue to feel deeply. I have been charged with indolence and indifference. My lords, as regards indolence, the public have had every hour, every minute of my time. To not one hour of amusement or recreation have I presumed to think I was entitled. The other charge, of indifference, is one which is still more painful to me. Indifference, my lords, to what? Indifference to the honour of the country, to the success and to the safety of the army? My lords, I have, like many who listen to me, too dear hostages for my interest in the welfare of the military and naval services of our country to allow of such a course. I have two sons engaged in those professions, and that alone, I think, would be sufficient; but, my lords, as a minister—as a man—I should be unworthy to stand in any assembly if the charge of indifference under such circumstances could fairly be brought against me. Many a sleepless night have I passed, my lords, in thinking over the ills which the public think and say that I could have cured; and which, God knows, I would have cured if it had been within my power. Indolence and indifference are not

charges which can be brought against me; and I trust that my countrymen may before long be satisfied—whatever they may think of my capacity—that there is no ground for fixing that unjust stigma upon me. As regards what I have done during my official administration, I believe I shall be one who may derive some advantage from the investigations of that committee which the House of Commons has decided to appoint. I can only say, that I shall rejoice to lay before that committee everything which I have done, with perfect fairness and open-handedness. I am not now about to enter into any defence of the conduct of the war. I shall be ready to defend, whenever it is assailed, the conduct of the government—the conduct, in the first place, of my own administration; and, in the second place, the conduct, as involved with me, of the whole of the cabinet. Your lordships shall not hear from me one word of complaint with reference to the treatment which I have met with either in parliament or out of it; and I only refer to it now to enable me to say that, whoever may be my successor in the office which I lately held, he shall meet with no ungenerous treatment from me. My lords, I know that I have in both houses of parliament many bitter political foes; I trust that I have few, if any personal enemies. But if I have one—that man I will not exempt from the promise which I have made; but to him, as to a friend, will I offer every assistance in my power. I will now conclude what I fear has been to your lordships much too long a statement. I will conclude the last speech which I shall address to your lordships from these benches with the earnest prayer that he who may receive from the queen the seals of the war department, may bring to bear upon his arduous labours far greater ability and equal zeal, earnestness, and devotion with him whom he succeeds. I repeat the expression of my earnest hope that the man, be he who he may, who follows me may meet with that success for which I have laboured, and, in meriting and securing that success, that he may also receive from his countrymen the approbation which it has been my anxious desire, but has not been my good fortune, to secure.”

The day following the one when this speech was uttered in the House of Lords, the Commons, through their speaker, presented their unanimous thanks to Sir De Lacy Evans (recently returned to England) for his zeal, intrepidity, and distinguished exertions in the several actions with the enemy in the Crimea. On advertng to the undaunted courage and chivalrous generosity displayed by the gallant general on the heights of Inkermann, the house frequently broke into enthusiastic cheering.

In acknowledging the honour paid him, the brave old soldier said somewhat quaintly—"It is true that it is almost a novelty to me to be received in this manner on account of my military services; for I certainly do think that I was as good an officer twenty years ago as now."

We stated that the Earl of Derby had been sent for by her majesty; but that nobleman found himself compelled to decline attempting to form an administration, as he was unable to obtain a majority in the Commons. The queen then commanded the attendance of the aged Lord Lansdowne, who exerted himself with the greatest activity, but his labours were not directed to the formation of a cabinet under his own authority, but rather to the reconstruction of the government, with the omission of some names and the addition of others. The difficulty was of a serious nature; the nation, during a momentous crisis, was without a government, and it was difficult to find a man for premier who united the high talents requisite for such an important station, together with such rank and influence with the political chiefs of the day to induce them to accept office under him. Everybody, it was observed, was thinking too much of himself, and too little of his country.

The Earl of Derby being unable to form a government, though he had been willing to enter the coalition with Lord Palmerston for that purpose, Lord John Russell, to the astonishment of the nation, was summoned on Friday (February 2nd) to the presence of her majesty. This circumstance was, for the most part, offensive to the moral sense of the country. To have conferred the premiership on Lord John Russell at that period, and thus to reward with success conduct which most men regarded as dishonourable political intrigue, would have been considered as an outrage on the morality of statesmanship. Lord John soon experienced the effects of the opinion of his late colleagues upon his conduct; for it is understood that the most distinguished of them resolutely refused to take any part in a government of which he was to be the head. Yet, in sending first to the Earl of Derby and then to Lord John Russell for the purpose of entrusting them with the formation of a government, the queen was understood to have acted on a strictly constitutional principle. The late ministry was overthrown by the votes of a majority in the

House of Commons, two-thirds of which majority were composed of the followers of the Earl of Derby: the earl therefore was first summoned to the royal presence. He failed in his attempt to form a ministry; and as the remainder of the adverse majority consisted of members supposed to be followers of Lord John Russell, he was the next commanded to attend the presence of his sovereign, and entrusted with the onerous task of forming a new cabinet. Upon his failure, the queen proceeded to call upon the leaders of the minority to reconstitute the government; this she did by confiding the task to Lord Palmerston.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, that nobleman set about his difficult labour with all the energy of youth, and the ministerial crisis seemed approaching a satisfactory conclusion. In the meantime, the houses of parliament languidly met and sullenly adjourned, and the business of the nation was at a standstill. On Monday (February 5th), Lord John Russell, who seems to have smarted under the attacks he had drawn upon himself, delivered in the Commons a sort of defence of his conduct from the retorts heaped upon him by the Duke of Newcastle. There had appeared, he said, what was stated to be a speech of the Duke of Newcastle, which he could not refrain from noticing without allowing grave errors to be established in public opinion. That speech placed the question in the light of a dispute between the duke and himself, and not upon the broad grounds on which he had endeavoured to put it. His lordship then repeated the chief facts of the case, without however altering the opinion of the house or the nation upon it. With respect to his own conduct, he said—"My noble friend here for secretary of state for the home department (Lord Palmerston), said the other day, in answer to the statement which I made, that I had not taken the right time and the right mode; that I ought to have brought before the cabinet before parliament reassembled, the question of how any motion here for inquiry was to be met—that I ought to have stated the deficiencies which I still thought existed in our military arrangements, either with regard to the office of war secretary, or as to the general conduct of the war. I think my noble friend was entirely right upon that subject. I am quite willing to admit that when I perceived the error I regretted it. I have no hesitation in saying, that it was an error on my

part not to have fully considered the position in which I should be if a motion for inquiry should be made after the opinion I had expressed, and the dissatisfaction which I felt. But, be that as it may, having committed that error, I felt I should be guilty of a still greater error—that I should be guilty of an error in morality, and there can be no sound politics without sound morality—if I stood up in this house and opposed inquiry, telling the house to be perfectly satisfied with the arrangements which were then going on, while, at the same time, in my own mind, I was not satisfied, and did not agree that those arrangements were likely to be satisfactory. It has been said that the government might have been defeated, that I might have stood by my colleagues, and that on the defeat of the government we should have resigned our offices. I cannot say that that suggestion is satisfactory to my mind, for it supposes that I was to take a course which, in my conscience, I could not take. But there is the other alternative to be considered. The

* A brief account of the public career of this nobleman, chosen at so critical a period to fill one of the most important offices of the state, may be acceptable. He is descended from the same family as the Earl of Dalhousie. His father was the youngest son of the eighth earl (the present marquis being the tenth), but he changed his name from Ramsay to Maule on succeeding, through his grandmother, to the estates of the old earls of Panmure. On being raised to the peerage in 1831 he took the title of Panmure; thus perpetuating, indirectly, the extinct honours of his family. Mr. Fox Maule, the subject of this notice, was born in 1801. Early in life he obtained a commission in the 79th highlanders, in which regiment he served for twelve years. It was not until the age of thirty-four that he entered the civil service of his country by accepting (on Lord Melbourne's accession to power in April, 1835) the post of under-secretary of state for the home department; the duties of which he discharged until June, 1841. He had been sent to parliament as member for Perthshire, and soon attracted notice as a collected and tolerably fluent speaker and a man of business, who, while remarkable for *bonhomie*, always obtained the respect of the house by his quiet dignity and self-possession. These qualities led to his being raised, in 1841, from the subordinate position to which we have alluded to that of vice-president of the board of trade. When Lord Melbourne's government was overthrown by Sir Robert Peel, then the leader of the now scattered protectionist party, Mr. Fox Maule took a distinguished part among the members of the opposition; and on more than one occasion developed striking debating powers. Sir Robert wisely deserted effete principles which he saw could not much longer be maintained: he repealed the corn-laws, and was hurled from office by the vengeance of his party, though at the same moment he won the gratitude of his country. Lord John Russell became premier

government might have been beaten, and I, with the rest of my colleagues, might have resigned. The event, however, might have been different. A majority in this house might have declared in favour of the government, partly in consequence of my assurances that I was not dissatisfied with the war. After all the obloquy I have sustained, I am very glad I did not incur that of pursuing such a course. Sir, you will perhaps permit me to observe, that having been subject to many slanderous attacks for the course I have pursued, I have only to say, that if my past public life does not justify me from the charges of selfishness and treachery, I shall seek no argument for the purposes of defence."

On Thursday, the 8th of February, it was made known that the ministerial interregnum was over, and that Lord Palmerston had succeeded in forming a cabinet. After all the commotion that had taken place, the changes were not considerable. Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle quitted the cabinet, while the only accession to it was Lord Panmure.*

by the generous forbearance of the late minister, and Mr. Fox Maule came again into office. Then it was that he first became connected with the war department, for the proper discharge of the duties of which it was considered that he was adapted both by his military experience and his general temperament. He remained secretary at war from the accession of the Russell ministry in July, 1846, until certain changes which preceded its downfall in February, 1852. During this period he retained the confidence of his colleagues, and generally satisfied his military critics. Lord Palmerston, then minister of the foreign department, had constant opportunities of observing the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, and to that period must be referred the formation of the opinion of Mr. Fox Maule, which led to his appointment of minister of war on the accession of Lord Palmerston to office. On giving up the war-office in February, 1852, Mr. Fox Maule became president of the board of control, which office he continued to hold until the resignation of Lord John Russell's ministry. By the death of his father he had succeeded to the title of Lord Panmure, and the reputation he had gained led to his almost immediate selection for the office of war minister, as soon as it was ascertained that Earl Grey, who was generally looked to as the most fit man for so onerous a post, would not accept it. It was anticipated that though Lord Panmure would not too severely and suddenly shock the prejudices of our military men of the old school, yet that he would not yield to the mere spirit of routine, and that he was courageous enough to resolve on any necessary changes however great, yet practical enough not to insist on military reforms merely for the sake of theory. Lord Palmerston paid a high compliment to the talents of the new war minister, by saying that he was a perfect master of all the principles which regulate an army, and of all the details.

The following is a list of the members of the new cabinet:—

First Lord of the Treasury . .	Viscount Palmerston.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Cranworth.
President of the Council . .	Earl Granville.
Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
Foreign Secretary	Earl of Clarendon.
Home Secretary	Rt. Hon. S. Herbert.
Colonial Secretary	Sir George Grey.
Minister at War	Lord Panmure.
Chancellor of the Exchequer .	{ Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
First Lord of the Admiralty .	Sir James Graham.
Public Works	Sir W. Molesworth.
In the Cabinet, but without office	{ The Marquis of Lansdowne.
President of the Board of Control	Sir Charles Wood.

When parliament met after the formation of the new ministry (on Thursday, February 8th), both houses adjourned again for a week, to enable the prime minister and the home secretary to be returned by their respective constituencies to their seats in the House of Commons. On this occasion, Lord John Russell referred with bitterness to the attacks on public men by what he called "a ribald press;" an exhibition of ill-temper that was not calculated to tone down the severity of its censure upon his recent conduct.

The ministerial changes completed, the question was generally asked, what had the nation gained by them? Many persons exclaimed that the cards had merely been shuffled, and that we had almost the same ministry again in a different combination. This was certainly the truth; but besides the stimulus afforded to the cabinet by the late expression of public opinion, the nation gained the advantage of the displacement of a minister at war who was universally judged to be unequal to the arduous duties he had to perform, and the substitution of a premier of remarkable activity and warlike views for one, who though a man of considerable talents, and, indeed, an excellent minister for times of peace, had been reluctant to enter on the war at first, had striven, by all means in his power, to preserve peace, and was deemed to be secretly adverse to the conduct which the decision of the nation had forced upon him. The exigencies of the state demanded a man of activity, resolution, and an iron will—qualities which the new minister was generally supposed to possess.

That Lord John Russell had aimed at the premiership was scarcely doubted by any one; when, therefore, it was announced that he had accepted the duties of British plenipotentiary in the peace conferences and negotiations about to open at Vienna, to which capital he would proceed almost immediately, people praised Lord Palmerston's cleverness in thus ably getting rid of a rival. The selection was, in other respects, regarded as a happy one. "The choice of a minister," said the *Times*, "who has for many years filled so prominent a place in the government and the parliament of this country, and whose name is familiarly known to every part of Europe, is an unequivocal proof of the earnest desire of the British government to bring these negotiations to a satisfactory and successful conclusion. It will not for a moment be supposed that Lord John Russell would have been chosen for such an employment if it had been intended to waste the time in diplomatic formalities. No man in this country has expressed himself with more energy than Lord John Russell as to the necessity of this contest, as to the value of the cause at stake, and as to the duty of carrying on the struggle with vigour. Indeed, the motive assigned by him for his abrupt secession from the late cabinet was mainly, that he had not sufficient confidence in the mode in which the war had been and would be carried on. As a plenipotentiary engaged in the discussion of terms of peace, Lord John Russell therefore runs no risk of being suspected of an undue propensity to relinquish the just objects of the war; and, indeed, the party in this country who push those objects to their furthest limit, are the same politicians who profess their adherence to Lord John Russell as their leader."

Parliament met for business on the 16th of February, and Lord Palmerston rose to state to the house the circumstances already detailed in this work, which led him to the high office he occupied. Having referred to them, he said—"The present government was then formed, and I trust it contains sufficient administrative ability, sufficient political sagacity, sufficient liberal principle, and sufficient patriotism and determination, to omit no effort to fulfil the duties the members of it have undertaken, and to justify me in appealing to this house, to the parliament, and to the country for such support as men may be considered entitled to receive who, in a period of great difficulty and emergency, have endeavoured to undertake the responsibility of carrying on the government." Referring to Mr. Roebuck's motion for inquiry, his lordship

said—"I will not attempt to disguise that I feel the same objection to the appointment of the committee of which he has given notice as I expressed when the subject was first under discussion. My opinion is, that such a committee would, in its action, not be in accordance with the true and just principles of the constitution, and that it would not be, for the effectual accomplishment of its purpose, a sufficient instrument." He proposed that the government should take upon itself the labours of the inquiry, and he laid before the house the intentions of the ministry with the object of accomplishing improvements at home and abroad.

The house was aware, continued his lordship, that he had not felt it to be his duty to recommend her majesty to appoint a secretary at war; and his opinion was, that in regard to the ordnance, great improvements might be made; that the discipline of the artillery and the engineers might be transferred to the commander-in-chief. The transport service would be placed under the superintendence of a board, to be established for that purpose. Great alarm and well-founded complaints had prevailed as to the condition of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, and the government were going to send out a commission of civilians accustomed to deal with sanitary questions, with ample power to examine into the state of hospitals, camp, and ships. Lord Raglan had also been authorised to send to Constantinople for a corps of labourers, whose duty it would be to cleanse the camp. Many complaints had been made—he believed not without foundation—of the want of system in the commissariat department, as regarded the supply and issue of necessities for the army; and a commission was going to be sent out, at the head of which was Sir John McNeil, to examine the defects of the commissariat arrangements, and with full power to set them right. Major-general Simpson was likewise proceeding out to the Crimea, as chief of the staff, to take the control of the quartermaster-general's and adjutant-general's departments, with power to recommend to Lord Raglan any change of persons. A new hospital was to be established at Smyrna, entirely under the management of civilians, and the secretary for war was going entirely to remodel the medical department at home. He would also introduce into the other house a bill to enable her majesty to enlist

for soldiers men under the present limit, and for a shorter period. The commissariat abroad, he had omitted to state, had been charged not merely with the supply and issue of provisions and other necessities, but with providing the means of transporting them; this had been a source of great difficulty, and there would be a separate department of land transport, akin to the ancient waggon train. He trusted that the house would be disposed to see the effects which these improved arrangements would produce. In addition to them, no efforts would be spared to reinforce our army. Certain conditions, to serve as the basis of negotiation for peace had been concerted between England and France, and concurred in by Austria; and negotiations had been opened at Vienna. The government had proposed that Lord John Russell should conduct the negotiations on the part of this country; his lordship had consented to undertake the task, and he would proceed the next week to Vienna, passing through Paris and Berlin. "If," said Lord Palmerston, in conclusion, "we succeed in obtaining peace on terms which afford security for the future against the recurrence of those disturbances of the peace of Europe which have led to the war, we shall feel that our first desire in undertaking the government at this moment has been accomplished in a manner as satisfactory to the country as to ourselves. But if, on the other hand, we fail, then the country will feel that we have no alternative but to go on with the war; and I am convinced that the country will, with greater zeal than ever, give its support to a government which, having made every possible attempt to obtain peace, and having failed in doing so, has been compelled to carry on the war for the purpose of obtaining those results which the sense and judgment of the country have approved. We shall, then, throw ourselves upon the generous support of parliament and the country, and that generous support I am confident we shall not ask in vain. I feel sure, that in such a state of things all minor differences, all mere party shades of distinction, will vanish, and that men of all sides will feel that they ought to support the government of this country, and show the world the noble and glorious spectacle that a free people and a constitutional government can exhibit a life, a spirit, and an energy, a power of endurance, and a vigour of action, that would be vainly sought for under despotic rule and arbitrary sway."

The plans of the new premier were not regarded as being very practicable or, indeed, intelligible. They were rather an endeavour to patch up the wounds and imperfections which late disasters had revealed in our military system, than to cure and eradicate them. It was generally considered that matters had fallen into confusion at the Crimea because our general had not sufficient authority, yet it was proposed still further to reduce that authority by placing some one near Lord Raglan to control his staff and to offer advice to himself. What was wanted at the Crimea was a commander of genius, a man of iron will, a kind of military dictator, whose mind should comprehend all matter connected with his army,—whose prescience and orders should see that the wants of his men were provided for—whose presence in his camp and its precincts would ensure his commands being obeyed—whose stern exaction of duty from his subordinates should be such that none of them dared to neglect even the spirit as well as the letter of his mandates, and whose great qualities should win for him the esteem and confidence of his army. It had long been painfully apparent that Lord Raglan was not such a man; but the new ministry, instead of seeking for a general better fitted for the trying circumstances existing at the Crimea, thought to prop up an inefficient general by a still further complication of that irresponsible system which had plunged our noble army into such great misery.

Lord Palmerston's propositions were analysed with critical severity by Mr. Layard. "The country," said that gentleman, "is sick of these commissions; the country wants a man; don't let me be told that you cannot find a man—that is an insult to the common sense of the country. If your man, however, must be seventy years old, a member of Brookes's, and one who has always voted with the government, I grant that you may not find one of that class and stamp fitted for the duties which are required of him." In referring to the terrible condition to which our army had been brought, Mr. Layard exclaimed—"I will tell the house where the mischief lies. There is a general fear of taking any responsibility; every one is afraid to act with vigour; and, with the permission of the house, I will mention two anecdotes to illustrate my position. One day, as I was going up to the lines of the army, in company with a gallant officer, we met a num-

ber of carts containing men suffering from disease and wounds, some of whom, I believe, died on the passage down; and with that convoy there were only two or three guards, privates of the line. I was astounded that there was no medical man in charge of so many wounded and sick men, and I went to Lord Raglan, and he was brought to see that convoy. Lord Raglan expressed that indignation which every honourable and humane man must feel at such a circumstance, and he instituted an inquiry. It was found that the medical man and officers had neglected their duty; and Lord Raglan published a general order, in which he stated that the conduct of certain persons had been disgraceful; but he added, that he would spare their feelings and not mention their names. I can honour and reverence those feelings in a man, but I cannot honour or reverence such feelings in a general. What was the result? I will tell the house. Two days afterwards, some marines having been landed from the fleet and put under the command of the colonel who had the charge of Balaklava, they were employed upon the same duty as the troops of the line. At night, while on guard, one of the men was seized with cholera, and was taken to the hospital; but the medical man refused to leave his bed, saying that the man could not be admitted, as he was a marine. He was then taken to another hospital, where he was also refused admittance, and the poor fellow was left upon the shore to die. That circumstance came to the notice of Lord Raglan, and what course did he adopt? He condemned the medical officers, but he said that he had recently issued a general order reflecting on the conduct of medical officers, and if he so soon issued another, confidence in the medical staff would be destroyed. I do not want to say a single word against Lord Raglan. I believe him to be an amiable and a good man; but what I say is, that it is not for amiable and good men alone to command armies. The men to command armies should be men of iron will and unflinching determination—men ready to sacrifice relations, private friends—even all they hold dear in the world, if it be necessary to do so, in order to perform what is an imperative duty. If you go on in the way you have commenced, depend upon it before a very few months have elapsed there will be but a small remnant of that gallant army. Commissions will only increase the evil, and shelter those

who ought to be called to account for their misdeeds. Send out a man of vigour, who will cut at the root of the evil, who will spare no one or nothing if he deems it to be his duty to cut it down. If you do so at once, there may be a chance of saving the survivors of your gallant army; if you do not they will all perish, and on your heads be their blood."

Lord Palmerston's ministry was scarcely ten days old before dissensions arose in it. On the 22nd of February it was made known that Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert had resigned their respective posts in the cabinet. Those gentlemen were distinguished by the title of Peelites—that is, those of the government of the late Sir Robert Peel who went with him, in 1846, in the repeal of the corn-laws. The motive which induced them to abandon a ministry they had so recently joined, was the strong objection they entertained to the proposed inquiry by a select committee of the House of Commons into the state of the army, and into the causes of the disasters in the Crimea. They accepted office with the belief that the inquiry would be abandoned; but on finding the house and the country bent on carrying it into execution, they retired from before an investigation which it would seem they had not courage to face, and which they described as unconstitutional and inconvenient. Viewed in a favourable light, their conduct was a frivolous devotion to mere formalities; and regarded in a more serious manner, it was a sinister desertion of their duty at a critical period in the history of their country.

On Friday, February 23rd, the three retiring members of the government presented themselves to explain their conduct to the house. Sir James Graham said he objected altogether to the appointment of a select committee, as peculiarly dangerous at that time. If the inquiry was secret, he contended, all check of public opinion would be withdrawn; if open, then the evidence would be published, and comments made upon it adverse to private character. He thought the motion had only been intended as a vote of censure upon the late government, and he considered the inquiry to be unnecessary, and the appointment of a committee for that inquiry unjust as well as dangerous. He believed it could be conducted more speedily and more effectually by the government which could effect

reforms a committee could only recommend. He denied that he had deserted his colleagues; he had taken a position by the side of them to resist inquiry, and they, not he, had abandoned the position.

Mr. Sidney Herbert observed, the motion of Mr. Roebuck might be divided into two portions; one related to the conduct of the departments at home connected with the supply of the army in the field; the other referred to the state of the force before Sebastopol. It was the duty of parliament to institute a searching investigation into the conduct of ministers of the crown: he had no objection to that part of the motion, being ready to go before the committee, and having nothing to conceal. But the committee had another and a wider scope. He considered, with Sir James Graham, that the motion was regarded as a vote of censure, and that, when Lord Aberdeen's government was at an end, no more would have been heard of it. Still, if the country was determined that there should be a searching inquiry, a select committee was not the best, most constitutional, or most efficient mode. As a vote of censure, therefore, the motion was now valueless; as an inquiry, it would be a mere sham. Finally, he disapproved the committee, and would not be a party to it.

Mr. Gladstone spoke at great length: he passed a flattering eulogy upon Lord Aberdeen: he deplored, with an appearance of pathos almost amusing, the pain—he might almost say the agony—of arriving at decisions for the government of one's conduct in public affairs. He had not changed; he was consistent in his opposition to the motion for inquiry; it was without precedent—and precedent, in such matters, meant wisdom. It was nugatory for the true purposes of inquiry—namely, the remedy of evils. It was unconstitutional, and would lead to nothing but confusion and disturbance, increased disaster, shame at home, and weakness abroad. It was useless and mischievous for the purpose contemplated, and full of danger to the dignity and usefulness of the Commons of England. He did not object to an inquiry into the conduct of the government; but that did not involve examination by the house into the state of the army in the Crimea. Though a strain of exaggeration with reference to the state of the army had crept unconsciously into the language used by members of that house, still the pains and sufferings of that

army had dashed and subdued the joy with which their brilliant exploits had been contemplated. He admitted the house ought to ascertain the cause of those sufferings; but he solemnly protested against calling to account those who were in command of the army in the Crimea. The committee would be one of accusation against them. He denied that it was prudent or constitutional to investigate even at the bar of the house; much less so, to instruct a select committee to investigate the state of the army during a great military operation. It was not to be a committee of punishment; it was not to be a committee of remedy; but it was a committee of government, which would take out of the hands of the executive the highest, the most important, and the most delicate of its functions.

It is needless for us to occupy the time of our readers by any refutation of the puerile and sophistical arguments put forward by these gentlemen in favour of frigid conventionalities and hollow precedents, and against a necessary inquiry. The house, the press, and the country concurred in the view that inquiry was merely an act of justice to their suffering soldiers and the national pride, which was deeply wounded by the crumbling away of our military reputation. Inquiry could not alleviate the sad disasters of the past, but it would go far to prevent a dismal repetition of them in the future. Inquiry alone would enable them to get at the root of the calamitous mismanagement which the war had revealed. "This," said a leading journal, "is the universal feeling of the country; it will know all about it, and that in time to do some good. Its painful curiosity is best expressed in a phrase with which Sir James Graham has supplied us. We hear that a British army has all but perished through want of food, clothing, and shelter, six miles from a port filled with our ships; and we want 'to know the reason why.' The Englishwoman hears that her husband or her son has perished from destitution, while all the wealth of England was being poured out for his aid; and she wants 'to know the reason why.' Fathers and mothers, of noble and gentle birth, hear that their gallant sons, in spite of clothing and comforts sent in vain after them, have died the death of a vagrant, famished, diseased, frost-bitten, wasted away; and they want 'to know the reason why.' The House of Commons votes away millions upon millions, and sees huge sums

down in the estimates for great-coats and other warm clothing—food, fuel, stationery, medical stores, porter, roasted coffee, and such comforts, of which only a few dribblets have reached our perishing countrymen; and it wants 'to know the reason why.' It is too clear that the House of Commons will not learn 'the reason why' from the ex-ministers who addressed it, nor from any government inquiry. The House of Commons alone can elicit 'the reason why;' and if it fail to do so, the country will not hesitate to ask 'the reason why' from the House of Commons itself."

On the evening when Sir James Graham, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone explained their conduct, the house appointed the committee for a *public* inquiry. The list of names first proposed by Mr. Roebuck to constitute that committee was abandoned, as one of men who entertained *ex parte* views; and Mr. Roebuck, in conjunction with Lord Palmerston, had prepared another of gentlemen whom, as a committee, it was presumed would possess the confidence of the house.

The vacant positions in the ministry were speedily filled up. The greatest difficulty was with the chancellorship of the exchequer. This was offered to Mr. Cardwell; but that gentleman not only declined it, but preferred to share the fate of the small political section to which he belonged; and he therefore vacated the board of trade, and followed the example of his colleagues. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a gentleman who, though he had not filled any of the higher offices of state, had passed with credit through several of the subordinate departments of government, was therefore appointed to the chancellorship of the exchequer. Lord John Russell astonished the country by joining the ministry as colonial secretary, in addition to his duties of plenipotentiary of the congress at Vienna. It was urged in objection, that either of these positions was sufficient to engross the complete attention of one man; but Lord Palmerston said that Sir George Grey, who had hitherto held the colonial office, should look to it during Lord John's absence. Sir George assumed the post of home secretary, abandoned by Mr. Sidney Herbert. Mr. Vernon Smith accepted the office of president of the board of control, vacated by Sir Charles Wood, who took the post of first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Sir James Graham.

CHAPTER III.

WINTERING IN THE CRIMEA; STATE OF OUR MILITARY HOSPITALS AT SCUTARI; RETURN OF THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE TO ENGLAND; SORTIES AND SKIRMISHES; SKETCH OF LORD RAGLAN; BETTER PROSPECTS FOR THE TROOPS; APPEARANCE AND LABOURS OF MISS NIGHTINGALE; MR. MACDONALD AND THE "TIMES" FUND; PRINCE MENTSCHIKOFF'S BUTTON; ANECDOTES OF THE CAMP; VOYAGE OF THE NAVVIES TO THE CRIMEA; BUFFALO TOWN, NEAR BALAKLAVA.

LET us cast back our thoughts to the Crimea, and trace what was doing there during the period of political agitation and changes in England which we have just described. Brief despatches were continually received from Lord Raglan, but they did not record any progress, and were mostly devoid of interest. They contained many observations upon the state of the weather; some stating what was being done for the troops, but none expressing commiseration or sympathy for those unhappy men. On the 6th of January, he wrote—"All my endeavours are directed to the speedy disembarkation and getting up of the huts, which have now arrived in considerable numbers." The winter was half over; the soldiers had slept in soddened filth, and had perished like rotten sheep; and the general calmly remarked, that the wooden huts were going to be put up!

It was not from military despatches, and certainly not from those of Lord Raglan, that the condition of our army in the Crimea was to be learnt. A great battle is sometimes recorded in such documents with a military exactness not attainable by an unprofessional writer; but the actual state of an army, its sufferings, its endurance, its hopes and its doubts, its deeds of obscure heroes, its bits of camp gossip and anecdote, must be looked for elsewhere. We propose here to glean from letters from the seat of war, and especially from those brilliant and dashing productions of Mr. William Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times*, such facts as will convey a few varying word-pictures of our army during the period of comparative inaction to which we have referred—that of the dead winter time—during which military operations were almost of necessity suspended.

Our obligations to Mr. Russell are considerable, and we are proud to acknowledge them; indeed, without a pretty frequent allusion to his picturesque sketches, we could not honestly perform our duty to our readers. "I don't know," wrote that gentleman, on the 8th of January, "how the

French get on; but I know this, that our people do not get a fair chance for their lives while wintering in the Crimea. With one exception, which must have done as much mischief to the enemy as to ourselves, we have had wonderful weather since the expedition landed. The other day I was passing through the camp of the 50th regiment of the line (French), and urging my poor steed through heaps of mud, when an officer came out of his tent, and, with the unfailing kindness and courtesy of our allies, invited me to dismount and take a glass of the brandy which had been sent out by the emperor as a Christmas gift. Although he was living in a tent, the canvas was only a roof for a capacious and warm pit, in which there was a bright wood fire sparkling cheerily in a grate of stones. We 'trinqued' together and fraternised, as our allies will always do when our officers give them a chance. My host, who had passed through his grades in Africa, showed me with pride the case of sound Bordeaux, the box of brandy, and the pile of good tobacco sent to him by Napoleon III.—'*le premier ami du soldat.*' A similar present had been sent to every officer of the French army; and a certain quantity of wine, brandy, and tobacco had been sent to each company of every regiment in the Crimea. That very day I heard dolorous complaints that the presents sent by the queen and Prince Albert to our army had miscarried, and that the guards and rifles had alone received the royal bounty in the shape of a ton of Cavendish. Several presents of the same most grateful and acceptable luxury had been sent to different regiments by persons who took an interest in them from former or present connexion. It must not be inferred that the French are all healthy while we are all sickly. They have dysentery, fever, diarrhœa, and scurvy, as well as pulmonary complaints, but not to the same extent as ourselves, or to anything like it in proportion to their numbers. Some of our allies have suffered and died from home sickness. We are all afflicted

with that disease, but none of us have died of it as yet, except one man."

Let us in imagination cross the Black Sea from the Crimea to the Asiatic coast, and glance at the condition and management of our military hospitals at Scutari. To show the state of things that was tolerated there, we shall transfer to our pages one of the many interesting yet painful letters of Mr. Macdonald, the gentleman entrusted with the distribution of the charitable fund which was subscribed at the suggestion of the proprietors of the *Times*, and submitted to their management:—

"Scutari, January 15th.

"Winter has at length descended upon the Bosphorus, bearing on its pinions a more than usual load of cheerlessness and gloom. On Thursday night there was a severe snowstorm; on Friday it was cold and raw, with a searching north wind. That night the wind veered round towards the south-west, and blew almost a hurricane. All Saturday it was wild, tempestuous weather; and yesterday, though the wind had moderated, the air was sharp, with frost. To-day the sky again betokens snow. Everybody here is speculating whether they have the same rough time of it in the Crimea, and how our poor fellows stand this added to their other hardships. Great as is the amount of human suffering in these hospitals, a mightier care than even they inspire weighs upon the anxious hearts of all who know the state of the army. The next two or three weeks will determine the effects of deep winter upon its fortitude and endurance. If it survives this last and greatest trial, each succeeding generation of Englishmen will hear with wonder and pride of its constancy. Should it perish, we shall at least learn in bitterness and sorrow from its fate lessons of wisdom which, perhaps, nothing short of such a sacrifice would have taught us. Whatever be the result, there is, unfortunately, no reason to anticipate that the amount of sickness in the hospitals at Scutari has yet reached its climax; and, although the questions involved in the present condition of the army as to health have assumed a scope which makes the state of these hospitals a matter almost of secondary importance, still it is not unimportant to estimate accurately their capabilities and defects. However great its faults may be, the medical department is not chargeable with that unfair usage of our troops which has con-

sumed their strength faster than it could be recruited by reinforcements from home. The military surgeons, if they sometimes aggravate by their mismanagement the effects of sickness and wounds, are not responsible for originating either; and, in order to measure rightly their position in this emergency, it is necessary to remember that an amount of work has fallen upon them beyond all the calculations of a war conducted with ordinary prudence, capacity, and forethought. Yet they have not been without time for preparation. These vast establishments, which require so much the general superintendence of one sensible, vigorous head, still remain in this respect as they were nearly three months ago, when their defective state, and the consequent sufferings of their inmates, first awakened attention at home. What has been done during that considerable interval can be very easily stated. Miss Nightingale and her nurses and sisters have, with the aid of the fund which I administer, filled up the worst and largest gaps in their administration. By them the shortcomings in the purveyors' department have been compensated, the defects of the orderly system in some degree palliated, and urgent wants provided for, which otherwise must have been left entirely unsupplied. I am bound to notice also the important services rendered by Dr. McGregor, in rising superior to narrow prejudices, and affording a fair field for the labours of the nurses and the usefulness of the fund. From the position which he occupied at the time, he might have so stunted and discouraged the former, as to have insured the entire failure of their mission; for, had he done so, it is not improbable that some at least of his official superiors might have taken a very indulgent view of his conduct. The genius for selection which appointed to do duty at Balaklava a medical officer who had been hardened to the nature of the work by his experience in the deadly climate of Sierra Leone, would probably have seen without serious disapprobation the defeat of any attempt, however sanctioned, to introduce female nursing into our military hospitals. The desire to render the administration of the sick and wounded fund superfluous, was openly avowed before I left England; and I was confidently assured that whatever was required would be supplied more expeditiously and effectively than by any impertinent intervention of private charity. How far these

assurances have been disappointed, is shown by the large quantities not only of articles of diet and clothing, but of the established requisites of hospitals furnished here during the last two months at the cost of the fund. Only two days ago the authorities were indebted to that disparaged source for fifty dozen of port wine, there being no more to be had at Constantinople of the logwood substitute which for some time past they have been using. It should be remembered, all the more to Dr. M'Gregor's credit, that he gave an opening to the introduction of the nurses and the fund, because, had he chosen to act otherwise, a veil of obscurity might have been thrown over the great amount of wretchedness and misery which has thereby obtained relief. There are two other officers who, though not in the medical department, have contributed, in an important degree, by their energy and great exertions, to the comfort of the sick and wounded in hospital. One of these is Mr. Gordon, of the royal engineers; and the other Major Campbell, of the 23rd foot, who, since recovering from the wound he received at the Alma, has been doing duty here as deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general. It is not, however, of the zeal or the efforts of individuals that any complaint can justly be made. It is rather of the faults of a system which cannot right itself, and which the authorities at home will not, in a great emergency like this, delegate their power to have mended on the spot. Without full power—a dictatorship, in short—I do not see that anything effectual can be done to put the working of the hospitals upon a proper footing. At present they are much in the same state as they were three months ago; the most important departments still quite underhanded, the highest offices filled by old men or invalids, a constant shifting of the medical officers, which renders steady treatment of patients impossible; no adequate provision made in anticipation of fresh accessions of sick, which are certain to arrive; no classification of any, the simplest, kind, either in the wards and divisions or in the hospitals. It is true that in the barrack hospital, and to some extent also in the general hospital, the men have been saved from the evils of the system by temporary expedients, of which the intervention of the nurses and the supplies of the fund furnish the most striking illustrations. They have not wanted their medical comforts and warm clothing, nor even the

facilities for that personal cleanliness which is so requisite to health, because the purveyor has been unable to supply them. But all this cannot last. It is partial in its operation, for it does not include all the hospitals. It is a makeshift at the very best, the chief merit of which is, that time is given thereby for government, which always moves slowly, to correct its own defective machinery, or rather to simplify its intolerable complications, created partly perhaps for the sake of economy, but more probably for the convenient increase of official patronage during the long peace. It is only since Dr. Menzies' departure that Miss Nightingale has succeeded in getting a portion of her nurses regularly installed at the general hospital, where hitherto they have been tolerated, but not encouraged. The propriety of using them at Kululee and at Balaklava is still under discussion; and even in the barrack hospital, where the services they have rendered are beyond dispute, there is no difficulty in finding proofs of the tacit resistance offered to their interference. Had the medical officers considered for a moment that this employment of women in military hospitals must be temporary, that it is only the emergency of the moment which has developed so high and unusual an exercise of the female character and influence, they would surely have abandoned, long ere now, their unreasonable prejudices and jealousies. They will assuredly be left to the quiet possession of their own department, and all that it touches, as soon as they are able to do the work themselves without outraging all humanity of feeling in the process. But what have they done to bring about that consummation? What is Dr. Andrew Smith doing that he thinks he can manage the affairs of so important a branch of the service at a distance of more than 2,000 miles from all that could enable him to judge what was requisite? Who is responsible for that official timidity which makes the military surgeon ready to conceal, instead of declaring the wants of the sick soldier? Who is it that has stifled, by his mode of administering patronage, not only the first impulses of a liberal profession, but even the dictates of common humanity, in his subordinates? Power is not entrusted to the heads of departments to be exercised so as to produce such fruits; and, as we can neither get the known and patent defects of our hospital system reformed, nor the tem-

porary expedients used for supplying them fairly treated, I do hope that some steps will be taken to have that authority exercised on the spot which is now fondly retained at home, and to release the whole body of military surgeons from those nightmare impressions of their service which make them afraid to speak, lest it should blast their prospects of promotion.

"I have said that what has been done in the hospitals has been done mainly by temporary expedients; but I have not stated that, in spite of these, they are daily becoming more crowded, more in a state dangerous to life, more entirely every day huge, disorderly, ill-arranged lazar-houses, without any classification of patients, or any systematic distribution of hospital *matériel*. Wards and divisions are recognised, but none of these are complete in themselves. Far from aspiring to having each bed supplied with its own set of utensils, body-clothing, bedding, &c., as in the French service, our humble-minded military surgeon trembles to ask for the requisite boards and trestles to raise his patients off the floor. As for clean linen, though the patient be dysenteric, and brought on shore pasted over with their own excrement, that is a luxury which the purveyor-in-chief, when he has any in store, gives out as a miser parts with his gold. Generally speaking, he has none; and there being no supply of regimental clothing either, when patients become convalescent they are obliged to take everything they have had in hospital away with them. Only the other day a number of men were chosen to go home in the *Bellerophon*. Of course they were delighted at the prospect; but at the last moment, when it was time for them to start, many of them still kept their beds. It was quickly ascertained that they had no clothes, and the purveyor was applied to to equip them. He had nothing to give, and the requisition was then actually referred to Miss Nightingale. Her stores, serviceable as they have been, failed also in this instance; and the poor fellows, instead of going home, were at last sufficiently made up to be removed on board the *Bombay* convalescent ship in the Golden Horn. Take, again, the orderly system. The severity of the cases requires an unusual amount of attendance, and there is an orderly to every six or seven patients. But the most indifferent soldiers in each regiment are appointed to this duty—men who don't

fit into the ranks, or who are so stupid that no other use can be made of them. They are not only without training, but the system is such that they have no facilities for learning. They eat, live, and sleep in the wards, and numbers of them die from fever contracted there. What holds true of their position applies still more forcibly to their head, the ward sergeant, who has most important duties to discharge, without any pains being taken to ascertain that he is properly qualified for them. When the orderlies begin to know something of the service in which they are engaged, they are sure, as was the case a few days ago, to be draughted off to the Crimea. Dr. McGregor, in his division, is endeavouring to introduce a change for the better, founded somewhat upon the orderly system of the French hospitals. He has given them a room to themselves, where they can sleep by relays in an untainted atmosphere, and have their meals regularly. The example of our allies, in having a special service for this work, cannot be further followed out by us at present. There is a great demand now for superior medical officers. So many have been knocked up, gone home, or dead, and so many more are required for the increase in the number of hospitals and of sick, that, unless the upper ranks of the service here are largely recruited, it will be impossible for the work to be carried on. Already the number of changes constantly taking place renders the steady administration of such vast establishments impracticable, and the attentive treatment of special cases quite out of the question. Hardly any records are kept of matters intensely interesting to medical science, and there is a constant war of jealousies raging from seniors superseding juniors who have done the work, and from juniors being put over seniors by an unfair promotion. Wilfully or otherwise, Dr. Andrew Smith has shown the grossest ignorance of the state of things out here in his own department, and his subordinates add to the other defects of our hospital system an official cowardice which has and would again sacrifice the care of the sick and wounded soldier to the credit of the service. It was so in the case of Dr. Menzies, who denied that any serious want existed. It is so now in the very limited use made of the nurses strictly for nursing. One cannot go through the hospitals in any direction without feeling and seeing how much more extensively they might be employed in this

way. But, of course, unless the medical officer authorises it, they cannot interfere."

We may here mention that the Duke of Cambridge, who, after gallantly performing his duty at the Crimea had suffered severely from illness, returned to England and landed at Dover on the 30th of January. He was received by vociferous cheers from a great number of persons who were assembled to welcome him back to his native land. Having proceeded on foot to the "Ship" hotel, he was waited upon by the mayor and corporation for the purpose of presenting to him a congratulatory address. To this document, which resembled most other documents of the same kind, his royal highness replied in the following speech, which is worthy of a place in these pages on account of his generous recognition of the fact, that all our triumphs in the Crimea had been won by the resolute heroism of our men:—"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the gratification you have rendered me in presenting me with the present address. I assure you that any inconvenience or discomfort which I have experienced in the Crimea has been amply repaid by the bravery of the troops. All a general can do is to lead, and my humble services have been given cheerfully; but it has not been a war of generalship—the campaign has been a soldier's, and nothing but a soldier's, campaign. Led on as they have been by their indomitable courage, these troops have performed prodigies of valour; and I can assure you a finer set of fellows do not exist in the world than the men who are fighting the battles of Britain in the Crimea, and who have done everything in their power to sustain the honour of their country. Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I again thank you." His royal highness arrived in London the same evening, when he was received by a small number of persons with much enthusiasm.

To return to the proceedings of the Crimea. On the night of the 12th of January, the Russians celebrated their new year at Sebastopol. Lights gleamed from the public buildings of the beleagured city, and at midnight all the church bells began ringing. Evidently some religious ceremony was taking place, and the allies prepared for an attack by warning the sentries and strengthening the advanced posts wherever it was practicable. Shortly after one in the morning the Russians inside the line of works gave a loud cheer, a symptom of

hilarity to which the French replied by opening fire. In return the Russians commenced a terrific cannonade, which lasted for more than half-an-hour, during which the flashes of fire from the cannon broke through the smoke and distinctly revealed the outlines of the buildings in the town, and the lines of defence swarming with men. During the firing a strong body of troops left the town and advanced up the face of the hill towards our works in front and on the flank of the left attack. A sergeant and twelve men, who had been posted there, were surprised and taken prisoners. The Russians then advanced on the covering parties with such rapidity that the latter were obliged to retire. Having rallied, however, and being supported by the regiments on the rear, they succeeded in driving back the Russians to the town, though not before six men were killed and ten severely wounded. A sortie was made nearly at the same time against the French lines, but there the Russians were speedily driven back with loss.

Skirmishes of this kind were not unfrequent, but they were seldom attended by any appreciable result as to the conclusion of the struggle. On the night of the 14th the Russians conducted a resolute sortie against the French trenches, in which there were two companies of the 95th regiment of infantry, and two others of the 74th, under the orders of commander Roumejoux. The French waited the near approach of the Russians, and then charged them with the bayonet. A desperate *mêlée* ensued, but, as usual, the enemy were driven back, leaving thirty of their number, among whom were three officers, dead in the trenches. One of these, Colonel Popof, in despair of not being able to climb on the *épaulement*, ran his long sword through the gabions to wound the soldiers placed behind them. One of the latter broke the sword with his spade, and then, leaping over the parapet, attacked the officer, who had only his broken sword to defend himself, and killed him. The French had two captains and several men killed, and fifteen wounded. Among the latter was commander Roumejoux, the upper part of whose lungs was perforated by a bayonet.

In this affair the Russians displayed great intrepidity, and were supported by a corps of reserve of a novel description. That corps, composed of men specially chosen for their agility and dexterity, was only armed with slight but solid ropes, at the extremity of

which was a running noose. During the engagement they threw these *lassos*, which they handled with much dexterity, over the French soldiers. It is said that this weapon was used in the Caucasus; but it was nevertheless considered as a half-savage mode of warfare, unworthy of an European army. On the morning of the 15th a Russian officer arrived at the French camp with a flag of truce, and a request that the body of Colonel Popof might be given to him. The application was, of course, complied with. The officer who arrived with it spoke French fluently, and said—"This is a shocking work we are engaged in! What hinders you from taking the town? All this cannot amuse you. For our part we are heartily tired of it." The French were at a loss to understand these observations from the lips of a Russian officer, but we suspect that they were slyly satirical.

In reference to the small-arm practice which went on in front of the lines between the sharpshooters, Mr. Russell speaks as follows:—"Both parties have now become so expert that their greatest pleasure is to try and 'do' each other by getting up 'dummies,' and exhibiting devices to draw fire, so that they may have a chance of returning it while the marksman is exposed. The old dodge of putting up a shako or forager on the end of a stick is universally despised, and not a shot will be thrown away on one. Moving them along with an irregular motion just above the top of the ramparts or trenches, as if a man were walking along, is sometimes successful; and the lucky fellow who gets a ball or two through his head-dress in this way is considered very clever. The men now know each other; that is, they observe certain gunners in the Russian batteries whom they have seen for some time past, and who have nicknames. 'There goes Red-cap!' or, 'Blackbeard is going to take a shot at us now,' and so on; and there is a story going that pickets occasionally fraternise, as they were wont to do in the Peninsula, and that they are all agreed as to the Shibboleth—'Bono Franzig!' 'Bono Inglis!' 'Bono Muscov!' 'Turco, no bono!'"

So evident and so painfully notorious had the want of proper organisation in our army become, that our allies attributed the want of success in the siege to their connexion with the English. "Not long since," wrote a French officer, "our transports were employed in bringing up their ammunition.

Every day detachments to the amount of 700 men of our troops are ordered to bring up, each man on his back from Balaklava, projectiles of all kinds, to enable them to continue their siege operations. The few means of transport they possess, and which consist of rickety carriages, hardly suffice for the transport of their daily rations. They have expressed the desire to intrust to the French troops the works of attack to be directed against the Malakoff tower, the destruction of which they commenced. But for them we might have been in the place two months ago. The English are fine gallant soldiers, but they only know how to fight bravely and die nobly at their posts. The English alliance is indispensable in the struggle in which we are engaged; and, in consequence of the silence necessarily imposed upon us, we cannot say to Europe—which is astonished at our inactivity—that we are positively the victims of the negligence and the defects of organisation of the English army."

Writing from the camp before Sebastopol, on the 19th of February, Mr. Russell said—"Men have been frozen in their tents, and several soldiers on duty in the trenches have been removed to hospital with severe frost-bites, and suffering from the effects of the bitter cold winds and frost." Such had been the terrible result of war, disease, and neglect, that the army consisted nearly of reinforcements; the troops who originally landed had mostly sunk into the grave. Men were seen walking about the trenches and the camps barefooted, though the ground was covered with snow. The result was that some lost their toes or feet with frost-bite, while others were reduced to a crippled state by the excessive cold. During this severe weather quantities of wild fowl passed over the camp and flew disconsolately about in search of the feeding-grounds they no longer recognised. These afforded sport and food also for those who had spirits for the effort, while flocks of larks and finches, which congregated about the stables and cavalry camps, were eagerly sought after by our allies.

The following description of Lord Raglan at this period is from the pen of a naval officer attached to the Crimean expedition. We wish that we could express a belief that it is overdrawn:—"Lord Raglan shows neither ideas nor genius; nay, not even energy. He seems to live in the past rather

than the present, and thinks to supply every want by his cherished Peninsular recollections, imagining that what was excellent in 1809, in Spain and Portugal, must needs be the best in the Crimea in 1854 and 1855. But, with all his recollections, he seems to forget that imitating a few peculiarities of the old duke makes a great general just as little as taking snuff imparts the genius of a Napoleon. He tries to copy, and is therefore, as usual, a caricature of the original. Because the duke did not care about exposing himself when it was necessary to do so, he exposes himself often where it is not wanted; nay, he exposes himself for the sake of exposing himself, instead of choosing his position where he could best overlook and direct the action. I saw him myself, in the battle of Inkermann, occupying, during a great part of the day, a position where the cocked hat soon attracted an unenviable notice from the enemy's guns, and where, at the same time, nobody could find him. The duke was harsh and cold with his soldiers; lord Raglan caricatures him, and his coldness assumes the character of indifference. During the late storms the troops were for several days short of rations, without firewood, their tents blown down, and they themselves starving, shivering, and overworked.

* A private letter from the Crimea, dated January 13th, contains the following sentence:—"Lord Raglan and his staff occupy a large house and live in luxury, and one of them actually complains *that his window faces the north!*" The following anecdote, however, from Mr. Russell's correspondence, exhibits Lord Raglan in an amiable light, and also speaks well for the magnanimity of the poor Turks:—"As an instance of the good feeling of our poor allies, the Bono Johnnies, I may mention a circumstance which is very creditable to them, and which is, I am sorry to say, illustrative also of the disposition of some of the French and English soldiers towards the Turks, and of practices which became so common that they had to be forbidden by special orders. An English artilleryman, for some fancied slight, set upon a Turk and gave him a beating, and attacked 'outrageously' a Turkish officer who came to his countryman's assistance. He was found guilty of the double offence by general court-martial, and sentenced to fifty lashes. Osman Pasha, the commander of the Turkish troops, and the officer who had been struck, interceded with Lord Raglan for the remission of the man's punishment, and his lordship, who is one of the most clement and merciful of men, yielded to their request, and in general orders rescinded the sentence of the court-martial."

† The following extract from Thiers' *Consulat et l'Empire*, gives an admirable and eloquent picture of what a great general should be:—"He who may be summoned to command others in the field must, first, as in every liberal profession, have obtained a

What would it have been to him to put on a waterproof, to ride about the camp, and cheer up the men; but no one ever sees him, and I am bound to say that nineteen-twentieths of the army don't know him. Those around him say the English soldiers must be treated so; their general ought to be for them a superior being, inaccessible to the *petites misères* of the soldier, who is supposed to be always only doing his duty. I am inclined to doubt this; and, even if it be true, it can only be so when the soldier has thorough confidence in his general, and when he feels that there is a really superior mind watching over his interests, and that everything has been done to avert the calamity which afflicts him." Had this account of Lord Raglan's cold indifference* to the frightful sufferings of his troops been unsupported, it should have found no place in our pages; but, unhappily, we could corroborate it by a dozen similar statements. We do not charge against Lord Raglan the inevitable miseries which any army must necessarily suffer in a winter campaign in such a climate as that which prevails at the Crimea; but it is impossible to deny that, with a general of activity and military genius, such miseries would be, by prudent arrangements and efficient organisation, materially reduced.†

scientific education. He must be master of the mathematical sciences, of the various graphic arts, of the theory of fortification. A good regimental as well as an artillery and engineer officer, he must besides be a geographer—not the mere smatterer, who may know whence springs the Danube or the Rhine, and where their waters are discharged, but the profound geographer, whose map is in his head, and who in his mind's eye can judge of its outlines and its forms, and compare their relative position and value. He must exactly know the strength, policy, and character of nations, their political, and especially their military history—above all, he must know men; for soldiers are not machines. In war, indeed, man becomes more irritable, more susceptible than elsewhere, and to manage him with tact and firmness has ever been an essential portion of the art of a great captain. To those superior accomplishments he must add the less exalted, but equally necessary quality, of administrative skill. He must possess the precision of a clerk, and his knowledge of detail; for it is not enough to bring men into action—they must be fed, clothed, armed, cured. And acquirements so varied must be exercised simultaneously, and under the most pressing circumstances. On every movement he must think of yesterday, of the morrow, of his flanks, his rear; he must provide for the transport of everything—ammunition, rations, hospitals, and stores; know how to calculate at once on the possible changes of the atmosphere, as on the moral qualities of the men; and all these various elements, ever changing as they are, and ceaselessly complicated, he must

"Unquestionably," said the writer of a private letter from the camp, "an Englishman in power is the most obstinate, pig-headed fellow in existence, when he goes abroad. He brings his own notions with him, and nothing on earth can persuade him that they won't act till he has tried them, and paid most dearly for the experience. The French do the very opposite to us; they seek advice from Frenchmen resident in this country, and they succeed. They have a good cavalry; ours died of starvation from bad management. Their commissariat does its work well, while ours is a pass-word for contempt. Our soldiers are undoubtedly good, but no one can see the good generalship over them, that directs them, that cares for them, that provides for them the least comfort—warm clothing, dry shelter or fuel. No; these are things which it seems to be nobody's duty to perform. Those who can won't, and those who would cannot. It is notorious that warm coats, brought here six weeks ago, are still on boardship in Balaklava, because of some cursed informality. Is it not thoroughly contemptible, when men sacrifice human life to these stupid red-tape notions? Our lines are seven-and-a-half or eight miles from Balaklava, and this state of things. What it would be if 300 or 400 no one can easily tell."

It is pleasing to be able to relate anything which tended to redeem our troops, however slightly, from the miseries to which they were exposed. On the 22nd of January, Mr. Russell wrote from the camp:—"Warm clothing is arriving in great quantities, and the remnant of our army will soon be all comfortably clad, or it will be their own faults. It is difficult to distribute it, as the mere work of carrying it up to the camp must give way to the more urgent necessity of supplying the army with food and fuel. There is this sad consolation—that the reduced numbers of our army place the duty of feeding and curing it more within the grasp of the various departments charged with its execution. The great-coats, boots, jerseys, and mits furnished by the government to officers and men are of excellent quality, and the distribution, though combine, whether in cold or sunshine, hunger or a cannonade. While the mind dwells on all these things the artillery may roar, your head may fall; but, more than this, thousands are there who seek in your features the hope of their safety, or the sentence of their destruction. Behind, though afar, your countrymen look on; over you in triumph they

late, is most liberal. A fur cloak, a pea-jacket, a fur cap, a pair of boots, two jerseys, two pair of drawers, and two pair of socks, are to be given to each officer; and several of them have received the boon already."

Our readers will not have forgotten the benevolent heroism of Miss Nightingale: of that we are sure; for such women are not easily forgotten by a nation which prides itself on the homage it pays to intellect or goodness. When Miss Nightingale left England, most people shook their heads incredulously, and while admiring the angelic spirit that animated her, feared that her efforts would be in vain, and that she would find herself hopelessly out of place in the trying and unusual position she was about to fill. It is a consolation—indeed, amidst much gloom, it is a transient happiness—to know that such was not the case. It is with much pleasure we quote from one of Mr. Macdonald's letters from Scutari a brief account of, or rather tribute of admiration to, her noble and indefatigable services. Having mentioned the deaths of Drs. Struthers and Newton, who both perished at Scutari, victims to the zeal with which they discharged their professional duties, Mr. Macdonald observes—"Both Newton and Struthers, it may be a consolation to know, were tended in their last moments, and had their dying eyes closed by Miss Nightingale herself. Wherever there is disease in its most dangerous form, and the hand of the spoiler distressingly nigh, there is that incomparable woman sure to be seen; her benignant presence is an influence for good comfort, even amid the struggles of expiring nature. She is a 'ministering angel,' without any exaggeration, in these hospitals; and as her slender form glides quietly along each corridor, every poor fellow's face softens with gratitude at the sight of her. When all the medical officers have retired for the night, and silence and darkness have settled down upon those miles of prostrate sick, she may be observed alone, with a little lamp in her hand, making her solitary rounds. The popular instinct was not mistaken which, when she set out from England on her mission of mercy, hailed her as a heroine; I may wave your laurels; or, alas! the cypress—emblem of failure and of death—may rise over your dishonoured remains; and all these pressing images—drive them from your mind; think—quickly think—for in a moment the happiest combination may have lost its fitness, and shame, not glory, may attend you home."

trust that she may not earn her title to a higher though sadder appellation. No one who has observed her fragile figure and delicate health, can avoid misgivings lest these should fail. With the heart of a true woman, and the manners of a lady, accomplished and refined beyond most of her sex, she combines a surprising calmness of judgment, and promptitude, and decision of character. I have hesitated to speak of her hitherto as she deserves, because I well knew that no praise of mine could do justice to her merits, while it might have tended to embarrass the frankness with which she has always accepted the aid furnished her through the fund. As that source of supply is nearly exhausted, and my mission approaches its close, I can express myself with more freedom on this subject; and I confidently assert, that but for Miss Nightingale the people of England would scarcely, with all their solicitude, have been spared the addi-

* From Mr. Macdonald's last letter from Scutari, dated February 19th, we extract the following conclusions which he draws as the result of his observations:—"In looking back, at the close of my mission, upon all that has happened here connected with it, I feel bound to bring prominently before the notice of the public, considerations involving charges against three persons who, in my humble opinion, are chiefly responsible for the excessive amount of sickness and mortality in the army, for the defective state of the military hospitals in the East, and for the slow and unsatisfactory manner in which those defects have hitherto been remedied. First, then, as to the amount of sickness in the army. The causes of it, though they may be traced through every variety of detail, all resolve themselves when generalised into this one great undeniable fact—that Lord Raglan deliberately sacrificed his troops by assigning to them a task far beyond their strength and organisation, under circumstances which necessarily involved most fatal and disastrous consequences. He undertook an equal share of the actual siege operations with the French, who had three times as great a force, and, being on the right, his men had to bear the brunt of Inkermann and Balaklava, besides the harassing duties of constantly guarding a long line which might at any moment be assailed in great force by the enemy. The questions of the constitution of the staff, of the difficulties of transit from Balaklava, of the confusion and mistakes with reference to supplies, of men miserably clothed and fed, the climatic influences, and the sanitary state of the army on its arrival in the Crimea, are all subordinate matters to and included in this one gigantic blunder, which has cost us so many thousand soldiers, and left our military reputation humiliated before the whole world. Had our share in the siege been less ambitious, there would have been time to remedy some at least of these evils; but what could be done in that way when every available man was already worked far beyond his strength in forming and guarding the trenches? Lord Raglan has as much thrown away the army which was intrusted to him as if he had lost it by bad general-

tional pang of knowing, which they must have done sooner or later, that their soldiers, even in hospital, had found scanty refuge and relief from the unparalleled miseries with which this war has hitherto been attended."

Mr. Macdonald's Samaritan labours at Scutari ended when the sum entrusted to him by the *Times*, amounting altogether to £11,585 10s. 5d., was exhausted. That gentleman was compelled, by severe indisposition, contracted in the poisonous atmosphere of the hospitals, to relinquish his task and return to this country. The proprietors of the *Times*, however, having expressed their willingness to receive a further fund of £15,000 for the assistance of our sick and wounded soldiers, the place of Mr. Macdonald was supplied by another gentleman, who immediately afterwards proceeded to the East to administer the public bounty.*

The following anecdote went the round ship in a pitched battle. It is this mighty error of his which has filled our hospitals with such overwhelming numbers of sick, while our allies have preserved their army entire behind the buckler of British valour. They have now a much larger share in the siege of Sebastopol, and will engross more entirely the glory of capturing it when it falls than could possibly have been the case had the strength of our army been properly husbanded by a prudent general. Secondly, for the defective state of the military hospitals in the East, the chief blame must be attached to Dr. Andrew Smith, the director-general. He it was who brought his department into a position which deprived it of all that authority and force requisite for its efficiency. The servile subservience of its *régime* has prevented its chief officers from protesting with the requisite energy when its free action was impeded or interfered with. While every other department of the service victimised it, the stringent rule of the director-general had destroyed all zeal and independence of spirit in the mass of his subordinates; and when the hour of trial came, it was found that neither in the Crimea nor at Scutari had the principal medical officers the power or the courage to secure from other quarters the co-operation and assistance which were indispensable to them. They were thrown over by the naval authorities, by the quartermaster-general's people, by the commander-in-chief, by, in fact, everybody with whom they came in contact, or upon whom they were dependent; and to complete their humiliation and the weight of responsibility resting on their chief, they would have submitted in silence and drawn a veil over the horrors of the military hospitals, had these not been disclosed by the press. Such are the miserable results of having at the head of an important department a man whose only qualifications for that office are blind subservience to his superiors and a stern terrorism over those placed under his own control. In the last place, let me point out where the fault rests that the remedial measures required by the state of the hospitals and the treatment of our sick have been so long delayed, and are still so

of the camp, and was vouched for as a fact. An English officer was taken prisoner and sent to Simpheropol. His friends in England, ignorant of his fate, sent him a packet of letters, which were duly delivered after they had been opened and read by his captors. One of the letters was from a young lady, who modestly desired the officer to take Sebastopol as soon as possible, and to be sure and capture Prince Mentschikoff in person, adding, that she expected to receive a button off the prince's coat, as a proof of the young gentleman's courage. This letter was delivered to the imprisoned officer, accompanied by another from the Russian general enclosing a button, and stating that he had read the young lady's letter, and regretted that he could not accede to her views as regarded the taking of Sebastopol or himself, but that he was happy to be enabled to meet her wishes on a third point, and that he begged to enclose a button from his coat, which he requested the gentleman to forward to the lady who was so anxious to possess it.

Another of Mr. Russell's amusing little camp stories we cannot resist. *Apropos* of the French, he says—"In cooking, I need not say, our neighbours beat us hollow. I partook of a sumptuous banquet in the tent of an officer of the guards the other night, the staple of which was a goose, purchased for a golden egg in Balaklava, but which assumed so many forms, and was so good and strange in all—now coming upon you

imperfectly applied. Here was a case for the exercise of summary authority by some superior power; and one naturally asks how our ambassador, the representative of his sovereign here, behaved in such an emergency. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, from his palace, which has cost the nation so much money, can see the melancholy piles of building in which for months the bravest and finest army that England ever sent from her shores has been perishing miserably day by day. He has known of overcrowded hospitals, defective stores, patients clothed by charity, wards wretchedly furnished—everything disorganised and in confusion. The horrors of the transport service for the sick have been communicated to him by at least one faithful witness, and in no other respect can he plead ignorance of what has been taking place at his very doors. Yet will it be believed that since my arrival here on the 6th of November last, he has paid only one short visit to Scutari? He came, passed through two or three corridors, and returned again; nor would he have seen the little he did but for the anxiety of Miss Nightingale to have some repairs executed, to expedite which his consent was important. It may be said that, though he did not come himself, he sent Lady Stratford repeatedly, and that she acted as his delegate; but surely this was no matter to be handed over to a lady, however kindly her sympathies and

as a *pièce de resistance*, again assuming the shape of a *giblotte* that would do credit to Philippe, and again turning up as a delicate little *plat* with a flavour of woodcocks, that the name of the artist was at once demanded. He was a grisly-headed Zouave, who stood at the door of the tent, prouder of the compliments which were paid to him than of the few francs he was to get for his services, 'lent,' as he was, by the captain of his company for the day. A few days after—these were Christmas times, or were meant to be so—there was a dinner in another friendly tent. A Samaritan sea-captain had presented a mess with a leg of English mutton, a case of preserved turnips, and a wild duck. Hungry as hunters, the little party assembled at the appointed hour, full of anticipated pleasure and good fare from the fatherland. 'Bankes, bring in dinner,' said the host proudly to his *chef de cuisine*. The guests were set—the cover was placed on the table—it was removed with enthusiasm, and, lo! there lay the duck, burnt black and dry as charcoal, in the centre of a mound of turnips. 'I thou't vovls wor al'ays ate vurst,' was the sole defence of the wretched criminal as he removed the sacrifice for the time. Then he brought in the soup, which was excellent, especially the bouilli; but we could not eat soup all night, especially when the mutton was waiting. 'Now then, Bankes, bring in the leg of mutton.' 'The wawt, zur?' 'The leg of mutton, and look sharp, do

benevolent her intentions. Here were crying evils to remove and grievous wants to supply. Here were thousands of English soldiers—the half of her army—sinking into the grave, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is content to send his wife to look after them. Why did he not come occasionally himself, and try to breathe life and vigour into the administration of the hospitals? Why did he not now and then show himself in the wards, and let their suffering occupants feel the interest which he, as the representative of their sovereign, took in their welfare? Had he done so, it is impossible that the reforms and improvements which are now beginning slowly to take place could have been so long postponed, and especially that we should be so cramped for hospital space, while our more pushing and vigorous allies have the pick and choice of all the finest palaces and buildings on the Constantinople side of the Bosphorus. The time has come when every servant of the state, high and low, must put forth his best energies fearlessly in its cause.

"The honour and reputation of England, as a great power, have been rudely shaken throughout the East by the events of the last few months, and, unless we take decisive steps to recover the ground which we have lost, no diplomatic *finesse* will ever restore our damaged *prestige*."

you hear? I hope you've not spoiled *that* too.' Woy, zur, theese been 'atin oo't!' The miserable being had actually boiled down the leg of mutton in the soup, having cut it—large slices off it—to make it fit the pot!"

We extract the following from one of Mr. Russell's excellent gossiping letters, dated January 31st:—"To day a spy *walked through some of our trenches*, counted the guns, and made whatever observations he pleased besides, in addition to information acquired from the men with whom he conversed. He was closely shaven, and wore a blue frock-coat buttoned up to the chin, and he stopped for some time to look at Mr. Murdock 'bouching' the guns, or putting new vents into them. Some said he was like a Frenchman; others, that he looked like a doctor; no one suspected he was a Russian till he suddenly bolted away down the front of the battery towards the Russian pickets, under a sharp fire of musketry, through which he had the singular good luck to escape unscathed. Strict orders have been issued, in consequence of this daring act, to admit no one into the trenches or works without a written permission from the proper authorities, and that all persons found loitering about the camp shall be arrested and sent to divisional head-quarters for examination. On the other hand, our spy who was sent out some time ago to report on the condition of the army towards the Belbek, has returned, and states that he went as far as Simpheropol, that the enemy are in some force along the route, but that the cavalry is in a miserable condition, and that their horses are lying dead by hundreds all over the country. I stated, some time ago, that the French have been in the habit of sending out working parties through our lines towards the valley of Baidar, to cut wood for gabions and fuel, along the sides of the romantic glens which intersect the high mountain ranges to the south-east of Balaklava. They have frequently come across the Cossack pickets; and as it is our interest not to provoke hostilities with them, a kind of good-natured fellowship has sprung up between our allies and the men of the Russian outposts. The other day the French came upon three cavalry horses tied up to a tree, and the officer in command ordered them not to be touched. On the same day a chasseur had left his belt and accoutrements behind him in the ruined Cossack

picket-house, and naturally gave up all hope of recovering them, but on his next visit he found them on the wall untouched. To requite this act of forbearance, a French soldier, who had taken a Cossack's lance and pistol, which he found leaning against a tree, has been ordered to return them and leave them in the place he found them. The next time the French went out, one of the men left a biscuit in a cleft stick, beckoning to the Cossacks to come and eat it. The following day they found a white loaf of excellent bread stuck on a stick in the same place, with a note in Russian, which has been translated for them in Balaklava, to the effect that the Russians had plenty of biscuit, and, that though greatly obliged for that which had been left for them, they really did not want it; but if the French had bread to spare like the sample left for them, it would be acceptable. The sentries on both sides shout and yell to each other; and the other day a Russian called out, as the French were retiring for the day—"Nous nous reverrons, mes amis—Français, Anglais, Russes, nous sommes tous amis!" I fear the cannonade going on before Sebastopol, the echoes of which reach the remote glades distinctly, must have furnished a strange commentary on the assurance, and must have rather tested the sincerity of the declaration."

We do not mention all the little sorties and skirmishes that took place during this period of comparative inaction. Their result was almost invariably the same—that is, adverse to the Russians. Before daylight on the morning of the 1st of February, a vigorous sortie was made on the most advanced works of the French right. The firing was furious and incessant; our brave allies suffered severely, and had about 300 men and several officers put *hors de combat* before the Russians were driven back. The pain of the loss was aggravated by the sad reflection that a considerable amount of it was occasioned by an unfortunate mistake, which led one French regiment to fire upon another in the obscurity of the night.

The English navvies, and the materials for the railway from Balaklava to Sebastopol, were arriving at the Crimea during this period; but of the completion of that work we shall speak presently. Here we will merely quote a brief but amusing account of the conduct of the navvies during the voyage:—

"The first thing they did to prevent their own affairs being ingulfed in the general medley was to secure a wharf for the special use of the 'navvy' fleet—an invaluable precaution, and one which permitted something like a system of order and method being created out of the chaos. A fatigue party of soldiers was also obtained to pull down some old buildings to admit of a distinct *locale* being made for the 'navvies,' respecting whom instructions had been given for the whole of them to be berthed and victualled aboard the vessels they arrived in until huts could be erected for their accommodation on shore. This arrangement, with the excellent food and warm clothing provided for them, will, it is presumed, keep them in their present healthy and vigorous condition. Not a single case of sickness occurred among them during the voyage out, nor had any complaint been made of the quality or quantity of the provisions.

"Mindful, however, of the compliment paid them by Captain Andrews on their embarkation at Blackwall, as to the 'eyes of Europe being upon them,' they have been at some pains to keep themselves conspicuous before the several 'nationalities' during their progress to the East. Thus, at Gibraltar, a party of them achieved the hitherto impossible exploit of storming the rock, to the amazement alike of commanders and sentinels, and roamed all over the place, despite of every remonstrance, the authorities good-humouredly tolerating eccentricities which a little more license and a little more delay might have converted into serious excess. This ebullition was repressed on board; and it was intimated that they must not go on shore at Malta, or, if they did, they might do so penniless, for they would be allowed to take no money with them. Nothing disheartened by this admonition and the pecuniary deprivation attending it, they landed; and hit upon a most characteristic expedient for raising the wind. Some dozen of them went about Valetta as perambulating advertisers, proclaiming that at a certain hour a grand display of the noble art of self-defence by real British pugilists, and for the special benefit of two professors of the same, would come off. And come off it accordingly did, amid a large concourse of spectators, and with sterling results, through the importunities of the navvies, who, hat in hand, solicited not only their own countrymen of the place, but the natives—descendants mayhap, many

of them, of Foulques de Valleret and other knights and grand masters,—to contribute to this illustration of the chivalry of Pierce Egan and Tom Cribb. Again, at Constantinople, they insisted on going ashore, and, when told that they could not go, as the place did not belong to the queen, they exclaimed that it ought to belong to her, and that it soon should if they had their way. However, they had not their way there at all events, and so reached their ultimate destination in quietness. Some grumbings and growlings, more or less uproarious, which they have had among each other since their arrival, seem to have begot fears among the military authorities that there may be serious disturbances. But those who know the idiosyncrasy of the navy, think nothing of these little manifestations, and regard occasional phlebotomy in the manner prescribed in *Boxiana* as one of the luxuries essential to the equanimity of the 'roughs,' which they will indulge in, no matter at what alarm to the nerves of disciplinarians, whether in black coats or red. There is no doubt they will be a trifle unruly at the outset, but as little that they will go on steadily, however doggedly and unsentimentally, afterwards. Their enterprise has certainly been commenced, all circumstances taken into consideration, under the most favourable auspices. The great drawbacks at present are the want of horses and the difficulty of procuring auxiliary labour."

On the side of the English the siege almost stood still; and although the French frequently carried on the bombardment with great energy, yet no result seemed to be produced at all commensurate with the great efforts they were making. In fact, the allied armies were paying a heavy penalty for having neglected the laws of war—laws which enjoin that an army should never sit down before a place which it is not numerous enough to invest.

We close this chapter with an interesting description, from the pen of the special correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, of a village, or rather town, which had risen up near Balaklava:—"To remedy the great and much-felt want of beasts of draught, our commissariat sent to Baltchik and Varna for a supply of buffaloes, those quiet, slow, and hideous beasts, which do more work in a day than a horse in a week. They arrived here a few days since, to the number of about 200, and as warm stables were necessary to shelter them from the intense seve-

rity of a Crimean winter, a long row of comfortable wooden sheds was erected for their especial accommodation between Balaklava and Kadikoi. This place has now received the name of 'Buffalo Town,' and both from the extent and variety of its edifices, it bids fair to completely eclipse the remnant of a village of which it is an offshoot. To this spot, after being ejected from Balaklava, have migrated all the various tribes of all countries, who, under the general name of sutlers, have swindled both men and officers, and amassed small fortunes by trading on our necessities.* I went down yesterday to see the rising town, of which every one now begins to talk, and certainly was struck with the celerity with which the wooden metropolis and centre of our Crimean trade had been run up. Not that all the houses are of wood, far from it. Buffalo Town boasts every kind of structure, from the common stone stand of a Jew or Tartar, who has staked his all in a venture of clay pipes and cheeses, to the handsome eight-windowed residence of our Rothschild of the provision-market, Mr. Oppenheim. Tents, mud-huts, stalls, wooden houses, canvas screens, and in short, every possible kind of shelter from which any possible kind of article can be sold, abound here. The population which frequents this place is quite as varied as the place itself. All the different branches of the English, French, and Turkish services, with other foreigners innumerable, may be met here on Sunday, in every possible combination of winter costume, from the spruce, active, neat French soldier to our own men-of-war's men, with huge flowing beard and moustachios, great-coats made of cow-hide, and trowsers of buffalo-skin; resembling, in fact, great bears, with nothing to remind you of our blue-jackets but their bold, rollicking, defiant spirit, which four long months in the trenches have not been able to subdue. The Turks frequent the long,

* Well might the Balaklava traders amass small fortunes. A Maltese tailor, who for some months sold clothes and mended them, shut up his shop in the High-street and went back to Valetta with £2,000 in his pocket. Abraham, a Jew servant, who was discharged by his master because he was not contented with £150 a-year wages, opened a shop, and, after a few months, retired from business with a sum of between three and four thousand pounds. A French sailor, who had at one time been a baker, got possession of a house containing two ovens, and hired gangs of French soldiers to bake and to forage fuel for him. His ovens were either always full of bread or heating for a fresh supply. In London his

gaudy line of tents, where, under the crescent and sultan's cypher, gin, raki, coffee, sweetmeats, and tobacco are vended at the most exorbitant prices, and from which seductions the followers of the prophet always come away either discontented or drunk. The English haunt more extensive stores, where everything but the article of which you are in search can be obtained, and where, if one asks for preserved meats, he is sure to be told that they are all gone, but that some admirable tea-spoons, tin kettles, and pocket-combs still remain on hand. The French have peculiar places of their own, in which, after much vociferation and many threats of appealing to the authorities, they generally wind up by expending to the amount of an English penny or so. Amid all this clamour and hurry, little Greek and Maltese boys rush in and out, laden with eggs, bridles, thick boots, gloves, pipes, sausages, and all the other little creature comforts of which dwellers in the camp are supposed to stand so much in need, and generously offer them to passers-by for about one hundred times their actual value. Great was the astonishment and indignation of the 'navvies,' who were at Buffalo Town for the first time yesterday, to find the prices at which these things found eager purchasers here. Such was the scene at our new town on Sunday. Opposite the place where all the trade was going on, a large party of Turks were digging graves; while, a little below them were a party of our own men engaged in a similar melancholy duty; and along the road through the 'town' a long file of sick men from camp, coming in on cavalry horses, wrapped in their blankets, and scarcely able to sit in the saddle, completed the melancholy picture, and gave the 'navvies' a good idea of a Sunday in the Crimea.

"The condition of our soldiers in camp is much better in every respect than it was a short time ago. Still I regret to

loaves would sell for twopence or threepence; at Balaklava they sold, and readily, as fast as they were shot out, for two shillings each. Reckoning the flour (procured from Varna or Constantinople) as high as you will, and put a very high figure on the price of labour, still a loaf which a London baker could sell with profit for threepence, could not cost the Balaklava baker more than one shilling. So there was one shilling profit on each loaf; and it is said that above 1,000 loaves were baked in the twenty-four hours. This, at seven days a week (for there was no seventh day for rest in the camp), would produce, in a month, profits amounting to 30,000 shillings, or £1,500.

say the sickness continues almost unabated. A slight change for the better has taken place during the last two days, though even now we are invaliding to Scutari at the rate of 120 per day. This number is, of course, exclusive of those in hospital at Balaklava and at camp. The general opinion of all our army surgeons seems to be, that the comforts and warm clothing for the men have come too late to be of any real service to the great majority of our troops now out

here. To men who must succeed our present army, they will undoubtedly be of great benefit; but the constitutions of those who were exposed to the awful privations of November, December, and January, have sustained too severe a shock to be rallied by anything less than quiet, comfort, and nursing, which, of course, are all out of the question. Now our men are dying from the effects of what they underwent two months ago. The guards are a mere name."

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST MANIFESTO OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS; BATTLE OF EUPATORIA; DESPATCHES CONCERNING IT; A RECONNAISSANCE BAFFLED BY THE WEATHER; DEATH OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS; ACCOUNT OF HIS LAST DAYS AND HOURS; REFLECTIONS ON HIS CHARACTER, INFLUENCE AND POLICY; SUCCESSION OF ALEXANDER II. TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE; DR. GRANVILLE'S LETTER ON THE STATE OF MIND OF THE CZAR NICHOLAS; AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA CONDOLE WITH THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER; WARLIKE MANIFESTO OF ALEXANDER; REPORTED ADVICE OF THE DYING EMPEROR NICHOLAS TO HIS SUCCESSOR; ADDRESS OF ALEXANDER TO THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

ONCE again a voice came from St. Petersburg. At the close of an unusually bitter January, the Emperor Nicholas issued another imperial manifesto to the 60,000,000 of human beings who owned his sway. A shadow had fallen upon the palaces of the czar; gloom prevailed in his gorgeous chambers; disease preyed upon his body, and chilling doubts distracted his mind. Something more than the month was closing! Still the emperor wore an appearance of composure and confidence: though death was near him, and the hour was at hand, his tone was still high, and his exertions incessant. At this time he issued his *last* manifesto, which ran thus:—

We, by the grace of God, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., make known—

Our faithful and beloved subjects know how much we desire to obtain without recourse to the force of arms, without a greater effusion of blood, the object which we have had constantly in view—that of defending the rights of our co-religionists, and in general of all the Christians in the East. That desire is also known to all those who have followed with attention and impartiality the progress of events as well as the invariable tendency of our acts. We have been, and will still remain, strangers to any

other mainspring of action, to any other view in matter of faith or conscience. Even now, true to those principles which we have adopted, we have announced our consent to the opening of negotiations with the Western Powers, who, with the Ottoman Porte, have formed a hostile alliance against us. We think that we are entitled to the same sincerity on their part, to the same disinterestedness of intentions; and we do not lose the hope of obtaining the re-establishment of peace, so much desired, and so precious for the whole of Christianity. Nevertheless, in the presence of the forces which they array against us, and of the other preparations which they are making to contend with us—preparations which, despite the measures taken for the opening of negotiations, are not discontinued, but, on the contrary, daily assume larger dimensions, we are constrained, on our side, to think of measures to increase the means which God has given us to defend our country, to oppose a firm and powerful barrier to all attempts hostile to Russia, and to all projects that menace its safety and its greatness.

This, the first of our duties, we accomplish, and invoking the support of the Most High, with entire faith in his grace, with full confidence in the love of our subjects,

animated like ourselves with the same sentiment of devotion for our faith, for the orthodox church, and for our beloved country, we address this new appeal to all classes of our subjects, ordaining—

The formation of a general militia of the empire.

The measures relative to the formation and organisation of this militia have been examined and confirmed by us, and are embodied in detail in special regulations; they will be everywhere carried out with punctuality and zeal.

More than once Russia has been menaced, and has undergone sad and cruel trials; but she has always found her salvation in her humble faith in Providence, and in the close and indissoluble bonds which unite the monarch with his subjects, his devoted children. Let it be so again to-day! May the Almighty, who reads every heart, who blesses pure intentions, grant us his assistance!

Given at St. Petersburg, the 29th of January of the year of grace 1855, and in the thirtieth year of our reign.

NICHOLAS.

Like most of the productions of Nicholas, this manifesto contained much affectation of piety, of forbearance, and of a desire for the restoration of peace as soon as the interests of the Christians of the East were sufficiently secured. The czar was dexterous in his use of religion as a lever to effect political objects: he was an admirable actor, and could play the suffering, peace-loving saint to perfection; still the glitter of steel could be discerned between the well-arranged folds of sackcloth, and the aspect of the soldier beneath the priestly assumption of the monarch. He longed, with Christian meekness, to prevent the further effusion of blood, yet he directed "the formation of a general militia of the empire." Pious potentate, merciful prince! Like a not very dissimilar creation of our national poet, the politic czar might have said:—

"I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.

And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends, stol'n forth of holy writ;
And seem a saint where most I play the devil."

The czar's manifesto had not long been made public in England, before intelligence

was received from Lord Raglan, by electric telegraph, that the Turkish army at Eupatoria, under the command of Omar Pasha, had been attacked on the 17th of February by a Russian force consisting of 40,000 men, and that the latter had been repulsed with considerable loss after four hours' fighting. At the same time information came from Marseilles, that some thousand Russian soldiers, in marching towards Sebastopol, had perished from the extreme severity of the cold. This latter report, though highly probable, remained unconfirmed. Of the former, particulars were soon received in England. They were as follows:—

An attack in force upon Eupatoria had been long expected; for it was not to be supposed that the enemy would permit so important a position to be tacitly held by the invaders. It was indeed surprising that such an attack should have been delayed until the place was strongly fortified and an Ottoman army of 40,000 men, under the command of Omar Pasha, garrisoned there. *Reconnaissances* had been frequently made, but they were only of sufficient seriousness to keep the Turkish and French soldiers on the alert. Throughout the Crimean campaign the Russians had exercised a prudence that became almost equivocal. At the Alma they met the allies in equal battle and in open daylight; but since that famous engagement they preferred to make sudden sorties during the night, and to retire in order directly they perceived matters were against them. By this means they tarnished their honour in the eyes of brave men, but they avoided the defeat which we confidently believe would have awaited them in any pitched battle with the allies. They could not drive the enemy from their shores, but they trusted by indefinitely protracting the struggle, that the allied armies would succumb beneath the intense bitterness of a campaign during a Russian winter. They had not forgotten the events of 1812, and trusted for a repetition of them. Then, as in this war, the enormous extent of the Muscovite territory, and the peculiarity of its climate, supplied the place of that military heroism and dashing contempt for danger, and of the soldierly qualities possessed by the troops of the Anglo-French armies.

The attack on Eupatoria, intended doubtless to annihilate the power of the allies in that direction, took place at daybreak on

the morning of the 17th of February. On the 15th, large bodies of troops were seen moving along the Putrid Lake in the neighbourhood of the town. It was understood that troops withdrawn from before Sebastopol had united with others from Perekop and Simpheropol, on the flat ground that lies behind the heights in front of Eupatoria. Some French sailors who remained in the stranded hulk of the *Henri IV.*, wrecked on the night of the 14th of November, and since remaining like a battery upon the beach, observed some hundreds of arabas arriving with troops. Added to this, two Polish lancers, deserters from the Russians, brought news that an immediate attack was intended on the town. Every preparation was accordingly made, and the approach of the foe calmly expected.

The attack commenced about seven in the morning by a furious cannonade (at about 1,200 yards distance) from—according to the French account—eighty pieces of artillery, among which were some 32-pounders. The artillery was supported by a body of infantry, variously estimated from twenty-five to forty thousand, and a small body of cavalry. The morning was a gloomy one, and through the dim light might be seen many of the housetops covered with anxious Tartars, despite the shot and shell which hissed and roared over the town. The Turkish soldiers, under the brave Omar, remained tranquil and firm; each man grasped his musket firmly; and in the fierce expectant glare of their eyes was to be traced the warlike spirit of their ancestors. The cannonade of the Russians was replied to from the town, and also from the allied vessels in the harbour. The English and one Turkish man-of-war weighed anchor and took up their positions on both flanks of the Ottoman army. The Russian account of the battle states that five ammunition-waggons of the Turks were blown up, and several of their cannon dismounted in a few seconds, by their fire; but this circumstance is not alluded to in any of the other despatches.

As the mistiness of the morning cleared away, the great extent of the Russian army was apparent; and Omar Pasha, who with his staff occupied a rising ground, from which he could overlook the line of the enemy, was enabled to judge of their intentions. The cannonade lasted for about two hours without intermission, and the enemy then made preparations for an assault on

the north-east side of the town. Five battalions of infantry advanced under the protection of a fragment of wall belonging to an old cemetery, from whence two of them were thrown forward through the cemetery, provided with scaling-ladders and materials for taking the town by assault. Animated by an officer on horseback, the enemy rushed forward with great impetuosity. The Turkish infantry seemed resolved on retrieving the military reputation their countrymen had tarnished at Balaklava. They stood like adamant, and allowed the Russians to approach to within sixty or seventy yards. Then came the word of command, followed by a steady and deadly fire right into the faces of the advancing Russians. The latter paused, staggered, and fell back in confusion. Animated by their officers, they formed again and continued their advance. Another roar of musketry from the Turks, another deadly flight of bullets, and again the Russians were swept back in confusion. Most of the accounts state that they were twice repulsed in this way; but Omar Pasha says that they were three times driven back from the muzzles of his troops. Several trifling discrepancies occur in the various accounts of this engagement, but they are such as are ever likely to occur. It is hardly possible for two spectators of a battle to describe it alike. While the Russians were staggering from the warm reception they had met with, Ismail Bey, the colonel of the 7th regiment of Roumelians, made a sortie at the head of a battalion of his regiment, and, with the cavalry under Skander Bey, forced the enemy to retire. This, however, they did in good order, protected as they were by their artillery and by heavy masses of cavalry. Omar was glad enough to have repulsed so powerful a foe, and did not consider it prudent to give orders for pursuit, particularly as he was very deficient in cavalry. The Russians, whose high state of military discipline and immense reserves, almost invariably allowed them to conduct a retreat without confusion, falsely described this engagement as a mere *reconnaissance* in force. That it was an elaborate attempt to dispossess the Turks of Eupatoria and drive them into the sea, is evidenced by the circumstance that they left many scaling-ladders on the field behind them.

The Russians, on this occasion, showed none of that obstinate persistence they exhibited at the terrible battle of Inker-

mann. When not intoxicated by superstition or by raki, the Russians are rather tame soldiers. The check which they had received was the signal for general retreat, and the baffled enemy retired at about half-past nine; the engagement having thus lasted for two hours and a-half. A carriage was seen driving about among their cavalry, which was supposed to contain Prince Mentschikoff. During the conflict a gun was pointed at the carriage, and the shot would have struck it, had not the vehicle moved at the instant. The Russians left 453 dead upon the field, amongst which was found the body of the Greek bishop of Eupatoria. Three hundred of their artillery horses were also slain; and the number of wounded whom they contrived to carry away was very great. On the other side, eighty-seven Turks were killed, and 277 wounded; four French were killed, and nine wounded; and of the inhabitants of the town, thirteen were killed and eleven wounded. Of the horses, seventy-nine were killed, and eighteen wounded. Amongst the slain was Selim Pasha, an Egyptian general of division, whose loss was much regretted.

When the engagement was over, Omar Pasha rode round the lines, commending the brave conduct of the men, and exhorting them to behave in the same manner for the future. He was everywhere received with those expressions of joy and grateful admiration which usually greet victorious generals. In Omar the Turkish soldiers possess great confidence, and under his command they fight like brave and veteran troops.

The fullest and most interesting account of this battle, and the one containing the most picturesque colouring and vivid local touches, was from the pen of the special correspondent of the *Daily News*. We shall insert it as a bold and dashing war-picture in words:—

“Eupatoria, Feb. 17th.

“About half-an-hour before daybreak this morning I was roused from a sound and comfortable sleep by the clang of arms, the heavy tread of marching men, going at double quick time, and words of command yelled rather than shouted; and on listening more attentively, the dull, heavy roar of the cannon fell on my ear, as distinctly as the roar of the surge outside would let it, and caused the windows to vibrate faintly at every discharge. I had hardly yet got all my senses

into working order when my companion entered my room, booted, spurred, and armed, and announced the advance of the Russians. Upon going out I found the streets crowded with troops, all hurrying to the point of attack—officers tearing at a mad gallop over the frozen mud, the steamers in the harbour getting up their steam with all possible haste; the morning breaking slowly through a thick haze on cloudy sky, which every few seconds was lighted up by the flash of the rockets, which in their fiery course through the air threw a ghastly light upon the upturned faces of the Tartars clustered on the housetops, or standing in groups at the corners of the streets, and watching the progress of the combat in silent expectation. When I reached the intrenchment a furious cannonade was going on to the right, at an outwork thrown forward a short distance on the plain, and almost surrounded by diminutive windmills; for four or five minutes nothing could be heard but the rapid and tumultuous barking of the field artillery, and then the heavy pieces broke in with a roar which drowned all other sounds, and seemed to rend the clouds, from which the rosy light of the morning now began to stream faintly upon the town and the plain. The ground surrounding Eupatoria is a vast sandy plain, broken now and then by hillocks, and, close to the intrenchments, by two or three small ravines. To the extreme right there is a large salt lake which completely protects it on that side, and on the left an eminence of no great elevation runs away in a north-westerly direction till lost in the distance. Upon the summit of this were two large masses of Russian cavalry, laneers and dragoons, drawn up in squares, and further on to the right were huge columns of infantry, some displayed on the slope, but larger numbers still, I suspect, were behind the hill, the glittering of their bayonets when the sun rose being distinctly visible. In front of these, in a long line, were at least seventy guns, about a third of which were pouring a torrent of shot upon the Turkish hornwork and the adjacent portions of the intrenchment in the rear, the fire being vigorously returned, not only from the point of attack, but from all the redoubts on the left and centre of the Turkish lines. Anything more picturesque than the flash and smoke of the guns, before the day broke clearly, can hardly be imagined; but, when the sun burst through the clouds, and re-

vealed clearly the enormous masses of artillery and infantry that crowned the eminence and lined the slope, I confess—and there were many who partook of my fears—that I could not contemplate the result without considerable apprehension, above all when I remember that the only means of retreat open in case of reverse, was the Black Sea, which roared and foamed in our rear with considerable violence. The cannonade lasted in this way without any striking result on either side till nearly eight o'clock, when the Russians brought down another battery of eight pieces at full gallop, and taking up a position within 800 yards of the hornwork (the garrison of which, though the works were still unfinished, had defended itself with unshaken courage), opened a furious enfilading fire. To draw off a portion of this, a redoubt—the position occupied by the regiment of Colonel Ogleby—opened its fire from one gun, and drew on it instantly a succession of discharges from four pieces out of the eight. Happily (though in one or two instances they got the range very fairly, and knocked elay off the top of the ramparts in the men's faces), the majority of the shots went very high, and, after whizzing over some tents, fell in among some cavalry on the heights in the centre of the position, or dropped right into the sea, without hurting any one. This lasted about an hour, during the whole of which the cannonade continued towards the outwork and on the extreme right with the same violence as ever, and now became mingled with a sharp rattle of musketry, which inspired some apprehension for those parts of the field from this point not visible. In the early part of the day I had planted myself in the redoubt held by Colonel Ogleby's regiment, but as soon as it opened fire it became untenable for lookers-on, partly on account of the smoke, and the impossibility of remaining upright without making one's person a target for such portions of the Russian artillery as might think it a suitable point of aim. On going higher up along the intrenchment, I witnessed some splendid practice from the *Valorous* steamer in the harbour, which threw shells with great precision across the mounds of sand on the sea-shore, and in amongst the cavalry on the left, causing them to shift their position several times, till they got fairly out of range. Throughout the Turkish artillery acquitted itself remarkably well; after every shot, we

could see the enemy's horses rolling over, or flying off riderless across the field. Their artillery must certainly have suffered severely, as was testified by the number of dead horses, and fragments of gun-carriages found afterwards. About 10 o'clock a column composed of the Azovski regiment was pushed forward to the assault on the extreme right, where they had less to fear from the fire of the artillery, through a large graveyard filled with memorials of departed worth in the shape of stones of every size and form, from the simple cross or headstone of the peasant, to the square and ponderous tomb of some wealthy shopkeeper or director of the quarantine. What induced them to choose such a spot as this for the attack it is hard to imagine, as the inequalities of the ground must have thrown them more or less into disorder from the first moment. A few minutes previously the *Furious* had sent a rocket party ashore, who landed on the extreme right of the town, and, coming round amongst the windmills, opened their fire on the Russians, just as the head of the column issued from the burying-ground and appeared on the glacis, and at the same moment the musketry commenced from the intrenchment. The column pushed on to a distance of not more than twenty yards from the ditch, but there gave way and fell into disorder. Selim Pasha now made a sortie with a brigade of Egyptians, and charged them with the bayonet; but, in the act of leading his men on, received a musket-ball through the body, and fell dead. Ismail Bey was also wounded on the same occasion. The Russians now fell into disorder, gave way, and retired, leaving the graveyard strewn with their dead. The artillery limbered up and went off, firing occasional shots till it passed the brow of the hill. The cavalry preceded it at a canter, but, when on the other side, the whole retreated in the most beautiful order to a distance of about two miles, where they bivouacked on the plain. Immediately after the cessation of the firing I walked down to the crownwork, and at every yard along the inside of the inner intrenchment, found traces of the conflict in the shape of battered houses, dead horses, and here and there wounded and dead men. These were, however, the natural consequences of four hours' fierce cannonading, and I passed them without bestowing much attention on them, till I was stopped in a narrow passage between the parapet and ruined wall, by two soldiers

marching abreast, with a very excited, triumphant air, and each carrying in his hand what at first I took to be a pig's head, but which, on nearer approach, I found to my infinite disgust to be the heads of two unfortunate Russians who had fallen in the graveyard; one, from the long hair, evidently that of a Greek volunteer; the other the closely cropped skull of a soldier of the line—both gory and disfigured, and leaving bloody traces on the ground over which they passed. I had scarce recovered from my surprise and horror, when I met two other savages bearing aloft on the points of their bayonets two other trophies of a similar nature. They had scarcely passed me, however, when they were stopped by the news that their two *confreres*, who preceded them, on laying their hideous *spoils* at the feet of Omar Pasha, instead, as they expected, of being patted on the back, and receiving a good baksheesh, were instantly arrested and marched off to prison. The two last instantly lost their enthusiasm, dropped their bayonets, and went back, with a very downcast air, all the way looking as if they wished to rid themselves of their burden without exhibiting their fears or their weakness to their comrades. The scene in the interior of the outwork was terrific. Men lay on every side gashed and torn by those frightful wounds which round shot invariably inflict. Here a gory trunk, looking as if the head had been wrenched from the shoulders by the hand of a giant; there is an artilleryman, lying across a splinter of his own gun-carriage—the splintered bones of his thighs protruding from the flesh; another cut in two as if by a knife, and his body doubled up like a strip of brown paper. The artillery horses and their drivers were stationed amongst the windmills which stand in thick clusters between the outwork and the fortifications of the interior, and as the whole of this space was swept for nearly two hours by the fire of the battery which was last brought up, the havoc was dreadful. Nearly eighty artillery horses were killed on a small patch of ground, some by the shot, others by the splinters of wood and stone, which flew in showers from the mills at every discharge, and the soil was strewn with their blood and entrails. I saw all the horses of one gun knocked together into one indiscriminate mass, as if some mighty force had squeezed them up like so much butter. The mills presented a most ludicrous spectacle; some had one arm left, others two; and

some were tumbled into a mass of ruins, from which a wheel or a wing stuck up in the air as if protesting against the outrage. None of all these things, however, attracted much attention from the defenders of the position. All were talking loudly, some few laughing; artillerymen, taking the harness off the dead horses, and making repairs on the damaged guns; some throwing up fresh clay where the works had suffered; others carrying off the wounded in blankets, many of the latter groaning loudly; others reverently covering the faces of the dead with the skirts of their coats; and all this amidst a hum and buzz of voices which rose as merrily and cheerfully upon the morning air, towards the sunny sky, as if it were the close of a *fête*, and no grim evidences of a bloody struggle lay on every yard of the soil. Omar Pasha rode round soon after, with a large staff, and most of the European officers who were in the place; and in this train I went down to the graveyard. The firing had certainly not ceased twenty minutes, and yet at least 2,000 Tartars had rushed out of the town and stripped and plundered the dead Russians. When Omar Pasha reached the spot he drove them all away, but not before every one of the bodies was stark naked. The greater number seemed very young men, some mere boys; all wore an expression of perfect repose; no straining or distortion was visible either in the features or the limbs; they lay like men who were weary and slept. Many were half-buried and crushed under the tombstones, which the round shot and the rockets had hurled from their places, and sent flying in pieces in all directions. Many of the Russians had still a shred of a shirt or an old pair of drawers clinging to their mangled remains, and it would have required no great stretch of imagination to have supposed them the peaceable tenants of the tombs around, who had risen to ask the cause of the wild tumult which raged above their abodes. In all, 200 bodies were collected and buried by the Turks. As the artillery must have carried off a large portion of theirs, as is usually the case, I think the Russian loss may be fairly estimated at 300 killed and 700 wounded. The Turks have lost eighty killed and 200 wounded. These accounts both exceed my rough guess given in a telegraphic despatch immediately after the action. The damage done to the fortifications was very trifling, and was repaired in

three or four hours. The troops are now working night and day in strengthening the position, and I think no fears whatever, considering the large force which garrisons it, and notwithstanding the enormous masses of artillery with which the Russians threaten it, need be entertained as to its safety. The whole of Liprandi's division is supposed to be here. They have an overwhelming force of cavalry all round the town, and they are right, for no finer cavalry ground, I suppose, exists in the world. The whole country from this to Perekop is one immense plain, smooth as a bowling-green."

The following despatch, by Omar Pasha, containing an account of the engagement, was addressed by his highness to Lord Raglan, and forwarded by the latter general to the English minister of war (Lord Panmure):—

Head-quarters, Eupatoria, Feb., 1855.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship that the enemy attacked Eupatoria on the morning of the 17th inst.

The troops intended for this attack had left the camp before Sebastopol six days ago, and other troops from Perekop and Simpheropol had joined them in the night of the 16th and the morning of the 17th, in the flat ground that lays behind the heights that are before Eupatoria.

As far as one could guess, and according to the information furnished by prisoners, the enemy mustered thirty-six battalions of infantry, six regiments of cavalry, 400 Cossacks, eighty pieces of artillery in position, and some troops of horse-artillery, which were in reserve.

The attack commenced at daylight by a strong cannonade, during which the enemy used even 32-pounders. At first the Russians showed themselves in great force along our whole position; but, seeing that our left was protected by men-of-war, which went there when the first shot was fired, they concentrated against our centre and right.

I then requested the senior officer of the English royal navy to send the gun-boat *Viper* to the right, and to take up a position near the French steamer *Vélocé* and the Turkish steamer *Schehfaer*, on board of which was the vice-admiral, Ahmed Pasha. At the same time I reinforced the right with some battalions of infantry and some pieces of artillery, which I withdrew from the left.

The enemy continued his fire without ceasing, from the position held by his artillery, supported by a powerful fire of skir-

mishers, and then his infantry, carrying planks and ladders, three times tried to storm the works. Each time it was repulsed and obliged to retire under our fire, but it was enabled to effect this retrograde movement under cover of its artillery and of heavy masses of cavalry.

Our cavalry, which at the present moment only musters about two or three hundred horses, and which charged the Russian infantry at the commencement of its retreat, did not dare to pursue it in the face of such heavy masses.

This superiority in artillery and cavalry prevented our disturbing the Russians on their retreat. After four hours and a-half fighting, they commenced retiring in three different directions—towards the bridge of Lake Sasik, towards Top Mamai, and towards the Perekop road.

I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of my troops during the day. Although behind works only half finished, and not fully armed, they showed a bold front and were very steady.

Our losses are not very numerous, but they are to be deplored. We regret the death of Selim Pasha, lieutenant-general commanding the Egyptian troops. We had, moreover, eighty-seven killed and 277 wounded; seventy-nine horses killed and eighteen wounded.

Among the killed there are seven officers, and ten are wounded, among them Suleiman Pasha; thirteen inhabitants of the town have been killed, and eleven wounded.

I consider it my duty to make honourable mention of the French detachment that is here, and of the English men-of-war *Curaçoa*, *Furious*, *Valorous*, *Viper*, of the Turkish steamer *Schehfaer*, and of the energetic co-operation of the French steamer *Vélocé*, who all contributed greatly towards frustrating the efforts of the enemy. The French detachment had four men killed and nine wounded; among the latter is a naval officer.

The Russians must have suffered a heavy loss. According to the report of the civil authorities of the town, who had to bury the dead, their number of killed amounts to 453; their artillery lost 300 horses. They carried away a great many of their dead, and almost all their wounded. We have taken seven prisoners.

I have, &c.,

OMAR.

His Excellency Lord Raglan, &c.

Annexed also is a translation of the French general's account of the attack on Eupatoria:—

Crimea, February 19th.

Monsieur le Maréchal,—Yesterday, the 18th, an English steamer coming from Eupatoria brought the news that the enemy had vigorously attacked that place, and had been repulsed. That vessel left Eupatoria without taking the despatches of Commandant Osmont, and I was without details.

To-day only I received a report from Commandant Osmont, containing the precise details, which I subjoin:—

In the night between the 16th and 17th the Russians, taking advantage of the darkness, established round the place, the circumvallation works of which are not quite completed, a sort of irregular parallel, consisting of earth mounds thrown up, intended to cover their artillery and rifle-men.

On the 17th, at eight, A.M., eighty pieces of artillery opened their fire. Behind this artillery there was a mass of 25,000 infantry, commanded (according to Commandant Osmont) by General Osten-Sacken. There were also 400 horse.

After a cannonade of nearly two hours' duration the enemy made their preparations for an assault on the north-east side, where the smallest number of guns are mounted. Five battalions of infantry, provided with the necessary materials for crossing the fosse and scaling the walls, advanced to within 400 metres, protected by a fragment of wall belonging to an old cemetery. Two of these battalions were then thrown forward. This column arrived within twenty metres of the fosse, but, received by a brisk fire, was compelled to retreat. Brought up a second time to the attack, it was vigorously repulsed by a Turkish battalion, which, making a sortie from the town, attacked it boldly at the point of the bayonet and routed it, while the small body of Turkish cavalry charged it on the flank. This column left 150 dead in the cemetery.

Meantime the cannonade continued along the whole line. The fire of the enemy was chiefly concentrated on the hill, "so called, of the mills," where the Egyptian general of division, Selim Pasha, and the Egyptian colonel, Rustem Bey, were killed nobly fulfilling their duty.

At ten o'clock the Russians began to waver, and were soon in full retreat.

The defence of Eupatoria confers the

greatest honour upon the commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, and the troops under his orders. It inaugurates, in the happiest and most brilliant manner, the *début* of the Ottoman arms in the Crimea.

Commandant Osmont estimates the loss of the enemy at 500 killed and 2,000 wounded. Writing at the very moment of the event, he had not yet received the official return of the losses of the garrison. He estimates them at about 100 killed and a proportionate number of wounded.

Our little French garrison of about 200 men of the 3rd regiment of marines, and a portion of the crew of the *Henri IV.*, figured honourably in the defence, under the orders of their commander, Chef-d'Escadron of the Staff Osmont, whose intelligence and firmness are known to you. We had four men killed and eight wounded; among the latter Lieutenant Las Cases, who had command of the marine guns. His wound is not serious. He is a distinguished officer, full of vigour.

The steamers in the roadstead, among which I must mention the *Vélocé*, Captain Dufour de Mont Louis, rendered good service to the defence of Eupatoria by a well-directed fire.

I am, M. le Maréchal, &c.,

CANROBERT.

It is just also to let the Russians give their version of this engagement, which they did in the *Invalide Russe*, as follows:—

"We knew by the report of Prince Mentschikoff's aide-de-camp of the 12th, that on the 3rd the Turkish troops disembarked at Eupatoria had made an offensive movement upon the village of Saki, in numbers of more than 10,000.

"In order to assure himself of the exact amount of the enemy's forces in occupation of Eupatoria, and to ascertain if there was not a possibility of expelling them, Prince Mentschikoff ordered Lieutenant-general Chruleff to execute on the 17th a strong *reconnaissance* upon that town, with a party of troops stationed in the vicinity.

"The troops destined for this operation approached Eupatoria within the distance of 250 yards, and opened a cross fire of artillery upon the place.

"The enemy responded with a lively cannonade from the fortifications which surround the city; nevertheless, the action of our artillery was so happily executed, that in a few seconds five ammunition waggons

belonging to the Turks were blown up, and several pieces of cannon dismantled.

"Carried away by this success, the 3rd and 4th battalions of the regiment of the Azoff infantry, the battalion of Greek volunteers, and three sotnias of the regiment No. 61 of Cossacks of the Don de Jeroff, got nearer to the town, and, profiting by the shelter which the locality offered, commenced a smart fusillade with the enemy; nevertheless, General Chruleff, being assured that the town contained nearly 40,000 troops with 100 pieces of artillery, and that further effort on our part promised no result, gave orders to the troops to retire. This difficult movement was executed with remarkable order.

"Our loss in this affair amounts to nearly 500 men killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy was in all probability much greater; for his troops, pent up in narrow streets, remained for a long time exposed to the terrible fire of our artillery, the projectiles of which had clear range of the entire town."

For some time extensive preparations had been secretly making in the allied camps before Sebastopol for a *reconnaissance*, to be conducted by Sir Colin Campbell and by generals Bosquet and Villenois. The object was to test the strength of the enemy, who were supposed to be lurking among the valleys about Tchorgoun. The weather had been unfavourable, but in consequence of a few fine days having hardened the ground, the 19th of February was fixed for the movement. The exploring party was to consist of 1,800 British and 4,000 French. The night before all was expectation, and everybody engaged in the *reconnaissance* was to be up and under arms long before daylight. About midnight the French assembled, soon after which the rain began to fall heavily. Then the wind changed to the north, the rain became hail, the cold increased in severity, snow fell, and the wind became higher and fiercer. The troops could not see a yard before them; a *reconnaissance* under such circumstances would be useless, and no good was to be derived from exposing the men to such bitter weather. Under these circumstances the French resolved on abandoning the projected excursion, and Major Foley was dispatched by General Canrobert to inform Sir Colin Campbell that the French would not move. The messenger arrived too late; Sir Colin and the men under his command had set

out about three o'clock in the morning for the heights over Balaklava. An aide-de-camp overtook the general on the march, but the brave old warrior refused to turn back, especially as the French brigadier-general, Villenois, had sent word that he would move forward his men to support Sir Colin, in case the latter should have advanced before counter-orders had reached him.

The British troops proceeded, in defiance of the snow-storm, which increased in violence and intensity as the morning dawned. Such was the closeness of the falling snow, that even after daylight it was impossible for the men to distinguish any object more than six feet before them. The skirmishers in advance came suddenly upon three Russian sentries, whom they captured, though not before the alarm was given to the enemy. As our troops advanced, the Cossacks and infantry videttes fell back, firing their carbines and muskets at random into the thick white mist before them. The drums of the enemy were heard beating, and, through rifts in the veil of snow, their columns could be observed slowly retiring. Their numbers were estimated at about 5,000 men, and by their movements it was presumed that they had strong reserves in their rear. Our men were suffering so severely from the cold, that they were scarcely able to obey the command to "fix bayonets;" and, indeed, could with difficulty keep their rifles in their hands. The horses almost refused to face the storm, and men's ears, noses, and fingers, gave premonitory symptoms of frost-bite. Added to this, the snow fell still more heavily, quite excluding the Russians from view, and the French did not make their appearance. It was impossible to resist the conviction that the *reconnaissance* had been defeated by the weather, and Sir Colin Campbell very unwillingly gave the order to return. By about eleven, A.M., the troops arrived at their quarters, exhausted by fatigue and suffering bitterly from the cold.

Slight as was the repulse of the Russians at Eupatoria—that is, slight in comparison with the great battles of Alma and of Inkermann—yet it tended in some measure to produce an event which startled Europe, and produced astonishment throughout Russia. We have lately referred to the failing health and the spasmodic industry of the Emperor of Russia. Calm and dignified as the great autocrat seemed to those around him, stern and unbending as was the front he bore to

his enemies, yet the terrible struggle on which he had entered was secretly undermining his health and bearing him downward to the grave. Baffled ambition and an humbled pride gnawed like serpents on his heart, and beneath their venomous bites he doubtless writhed in secret, while he smothered the bitterness that reigned within him, and presented outwardly the unruffled calm of aristocratic *hauteur* and majestic repose. On the evening of Friday, the 2nd of March, it was known in the great European capitals that the Emperor Nicholas was no more! A telegraphic despatch had scarcely informed the people of this country that he was seriously ill, when another arrived bringing news of his death. At the first the information was received with incredulity, but it was speedily confirmed. Anxiety and sickness had done their work, and the troubler of the peace of the world was a powerless, breathless thing, soon to return to the obscure dust from which he rose.

At first a suspicion arose that the Emperor Nicholas had met the fate that had overtaken so many of his predecessors—namely, assassination. The surmise was natural, but it proved to be unfounded. Though his death was unexpected, he had been more than commonly ill for twelve days. It is said the illness which caused, or, rather, which immediately preceded his death, was brought on by a cold. Notwithstanding the severity of a St. Petersburg winter, the emperor insisted on attending to his usual occupations. His anxiety for the success of the war into which he had rushed, induced him to inspect everything for himself, even to the most minute details. He visited the soldiers in their barracks; he attended long and frequent reviews, forgetful of the precautions which his age required in such a climate and in such a season. To all the observations made to him by his children and by his most devoted servants, he replied that he had something else to do besides taking care of his health. He had beside treated himself according to his own ideas, and had insisted on his physicians putting him on a regimen which would prevent his getting corpulent, a condition of which he had considerable dread.

The emperor expired on the morning of the 2nd of March, and his death was attributed to pulmonic apoplexy, or congestion of the lungs. We have already stated

that he was born on the 6th of July, 1796, and that he succeeded his brother Alexander as emperor on the 1st of December, 1825; he was therefore in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and he had filled the imperial throne of the czars for nearly thirty years.

Of the last illness and the last hours of the man who had played so great a part in the affairs of Europe, the accounts we possess are but meagre. It would be a matter of great, though perhaps of morbid, interest to know what were the secret thoughts of such a man at such a time. We cannot know them with any degree of certainty; but from the dignified composure with which he received the news of his approaching fate, it may be inferred that no emotions of remorse for the blood that he had so wantonly caused to be shed disturbed his numbered minutes. He died as many a tyrant has died before him—in seeming confidence that he had played his part justly upon “this great stage of fools.” He regarded his career of blood with satisfaction; he spoke of religion as if he felt himself a saint; and his hopes of a happy futurity seemed to rest on the vestibule of certainty.

During the last few days of the emperor's life, influenza was rapidly succeeded by fever and inflammation of the lungs. Dr. Mandt informed him that atrophy of the lungs was possible. He received the communication with calmness, merely inquiring, “When shall I be paralysed?” The physician could not give a precise answer. He then said to Dr. Carell, “When shall I be suffocated?” On the morning of the 1st of March he declined receiving the last sacrament just then, but later in the day he consented to do so. He then took leave of his wife, children, and grandchildren, and blessed them separately in a firm voice, and with great calmness. Shortly afterwards the paralysis reached his lungs, and he expired. A rumour which could not be traced to any authentic source, affirmed that among the last words uttered by the Emperor Nicholas were the following, in reference to the King of Prussia:—“Tell my brother-in-law that I trust he will not forsake his own nephew and my children in the great perils which may lie before them.” Whether such a speech was made by the dying autocrat we cannot certainly say; but there were those about him in his last hours who had the strongest inducement to frame such an injunction, and to give it whatever weight with the King of Prussia that it

might acquire from the solemnity of the moment at which it was uttered.

The following account of the emperor's last days and hours, from a Russian source, is extremely interesting:—

"As it now turns out, his majesty had been for some time violently affected with *grippe*. About the 18th of February his body physician, Dr. Mandt, begged for permission to call in other physicians. The emperor took this very lightly, and turned it off with a joke, but consented that the body physician, Dr. Karell, should be also consulted. The emperor became by degrees worse from want of sleep and increased cough, with plentiful expectoration, so that the physicians, on the 22nd, begged his majesty would keep his room. The emperor would not hear a word of it; on which one of the physicians said to him, 'No medical man in the whole army would allow any soldier so unwell as your majesty is to leave the hospital, for he would be sure that his patient would soon come in again worse.' The emperor answered, 'You have done your duty, gentlemen, and I thank you, and now I will do mine;' and on this he got into his sledge in rather cold weather, and drove to the exercising-house to see some men of the infantry of the guard, who were about to march into Lithuania to make up the complement of the regiments there.

"At this inspection, which was the last occasion of the emperor's being seen in public, he was evidently very unwell, coughed violently, expectorated excessively, and said as he went away, 'I am in a perfect bath (of perspiration),' although it was anything but warm in the exercising-house. The emperor then drove to Prince Dolgorouki, the minister of war, who was ill, cautioned him not to go out too soon, and then returned to the winter palace. In the evening he was present at the prayers for the first week of Lent, stayed some time with the empress, but complained of being cold, and kept his cloak on in the room. From that evening the emperor did not quit his little study. It was there, on February 23rd, that he received his flügel adjutant, Colonel von Tettenborn, and dispatched him to Sebastopol; all the while lying on the sofa, and covered up with his cloak. After that his majesty transferred all business into the hands of the Grand-duke Alexander.

"The days from February 24th to the 27th passed over without one's learning

anything further on inquiry than that 'the emperor does not leave his bed, as he is somewhat feverish: the cough is getting less and less hard,' &c. During the whole time he was ill the emperor lay only on his camp bed, *i.e.*, on a casing of Russia leather filled with hay, a bolster of the same kind, and with a blanket and his cloak over him. It was not till February 28th that his state was looked on as decidedly serious. On that night he became rapidly worse. The physicians apprehended a paralysis of the lungs. On the evening of March 1st they despaired of his recovery.

"The empress and the crown prince begged him, at the request of the physicians, to take the sacrament. It was not till then that the emperor seems to have recognised the real danger of his state; but hardly any shock is stated to have been noticeable in him.

"In the night from the 1st to the 2nd instant, Dr. Mandt communicated to the emperor that he was dangerously ill, and that more particularly his lungs were violently affected, and gave great ground for apprehension. The emperor answered very calmly, 'And so you think that I am liable to a paralysis of the lungs?' To which Dr. Mandt answered, 'Such a result is very possible.' On this the emperor very calmly and collectedly took the sacrament, took leave of the empress, their children and grandchildren, kissed each, and blessed each one, with a firm voice, and then retained only the empress and the crown prince with him. This was about four o'clock in the morning. The emperor said subsequently to the empress, 'Do go now and take a little rest, I beg of you.' She answered, 'Let me remain with you; I would I could depart with you, if it were only possible.' To this the emperor replied, 'No; you must remain here on earth. Take care of your health, so that you may be the centre of the whole family. Go now; I will send for you when the moment approaches.' The empress could not do otherwise than obey this distinct expression of the emperor's will, and left the room.

"The emperor then sent for Graf Orloff, Graf Adlerberg, and Prince Dolgorouki, thanked them for their fidelity, and bade them farewell. Subsequently the emperor had all the servants immediately about him sent in, thanked them for their services, blessed them, and took leave of them: on which occasion he is said to have been him-

self very much affected. Last of all the Kammerfrau von Rohrbeck was sent for. The emperor thanked her for the fidelity she had always shown the empress, for the care with which she had always tended her in sickness, begged her never to quit the empress, and ended with, 'And remember me kindly at Peterhoff, that I'm so fond of.' The emperor pressed Dr. Kareli's hand, and said to him, 'It is no fault of yours.'

"Whilst the emperor's father-confessor was speaking with him he took the empress's hand and put it into the priest's, as if he would confide the empress to the ecclesiastic. After this the emperor lost his speech for a while, during which time he was engaged in prayer, and crossed himself repeatedly. He subsequently regained his voice, and spoke from time to time up to his decease, which took place without a struggle in the presence of the whole family, March 2nd, at ten minutes past noon.

"Almost the last articulate words that the emperor spoke were, '*Dites à Fritz (King of Prussia) de rester toujours le même pour la Russie, et de ne pas oublier les paroles de papa*' (the late King of Prussia.) At first the face of the corpse was very much sunk and fallen in; but in the evening the fine features had become more imposing than ever from their repose and regularity."

We have in a previous part of this work spoken of the appearance and manners of the living emperor; but we have yet a word to add concerning the departed despot. Whatever power the war party and aggressive policy of Russia received from his personal character and talents, of course terminated with his death. It is therefore well here to inquire, as far as can be ascertained, what was the nature of that character and the amount of that influence? In brief, what did Russia lose, or the allies gain, by the death of the emperor? No very definite answer could be given to these questions, for but a small amount of certain and positive information concerning them existed. The politicians had to grope about in twilight and mist, and collect slender inferences rather than make unqualified statements.

The Emperor Nicholas was undoubtedly a man of considerable mental powers, but he possessed nothing of the great or the heroic. He originated no new design with reference to the cherished theme of Russian statesmen—the extension of the empire and the advance of his subjects—but rather ser-

vily followed the ideas of his predecessors. In some respects, indeed, he had fallen behind them in the great onward march of nations. Nicholas was proud of being regarded as the champion of absolute authority and the foe of liberal institutions. Such a pride is inconsistent with greatness of soul, and, we consider, inseparable from a certain narrowness of mind and pettiness of spirit. In the matter of government he clung to what seemed safe—to expediency and coercion, to a fettered press, and a servile, superstitious priesthood; he could not rise to the grand height of placing a faith in the affections of his subjects. There had been reformers even upon the throne of Russia; but Nicholas had not the mind or desire to follow in their footsteps. Such a course he regarded as dangerous, and he clung to the effete conventionalities of the past as to that which, though not best, seemed safest. Compare the career of Nicholas with that of his ancestor, the illustrious barbarian, Peter the Great, and you will see at once the rude heroism of the latter, and the cleverness and polished shams that stood in the place of heroism in the former. Peter produced a policy; Nicholas was merely the product of one—the blind agent of a scheme grand in its conception, and not utterly discordant with the era of Peter, but which had become a madness and an impossibility in this.

Still, though Nicholas was not a great man, he possessed remarkable talents. His shadow overspread the German states; and in the courts of some of the minor powers of that great confederation, his influence was almost irresistible. He possessed a capability of inspiring those around him with strong emotions both of fear and attachment. His industry was persevering and untiring: ease, and even health, were sternly sacrificed at the call of ambition. His influence over his people was remarkable, though it has been conjectured that, in some respects, he followed where he seemed to lead, and that he was sustained and driven forward in his aggressive policy by a powerful public opinion. But the leading characteristic of the mind of Nicholas seems to have been dissimulation. In craft, he resembled one of our own monarchs—the first of the house of Tudor, of whom it was said that he possessed the art of making peace more dangerous to his enemies than war. Finding that the feeling of the courts of Europe was opposed to schemes of mili-

tary conquest, Nicholas substituted for a considerable time the wily encroachments of diplomacy. In this he was so successful, that he gained more by negotiations than by the power of the sword. The conduct of the last two years of his life was a mistake, brought on by a too eager attempt to grasp the coveted prize at once. The imperial Overreach paid a heavy penalty for his precipitation.

The policy of the Emperor Nicholas is thus described by the writer of an elaborate article on that subject in the *Moniteur*. "To stretch forth the powerful hand of Russia upon Europe to enslave it; to make Germany its vassal, and, if necessary, step over its body to reach the East; to keep the mouths of the Danube as the gates of Austria, and the banks of the Niemen as the entrance to Prussia; to stifle the last palpitations of Poland, so as to prevent the revival of a nationality which protected the south against the north; to place the Baltic and the Black Sea under the sovereignty of the Russian flag floating from the towers of Cronstadt and Sebastopol; to keep the East in check; to weaken Turkey, to exhaust her

without killing her, and to await the propitious moment for pouncing upon that prey so eagerly watched for a century by the eagle-eye of the czars; to possess the first army and first navy in the world, so as to be master by land as well as by sea; to fix a day in the future when the Colossus, continuing his giant strides, would boldly cross the Bosphorus, and establish himself at the mouth of the Dardanelles, on the shores of that beautiful Mediterranean which was to become a Russian lake; to universalise the Greek dogma, and make St. Sophia the St. Peter of future centuries—in a word, to construct a new Roman empire with new Cæsars;—such was the policy of the Emperor Nicholas."

At first it was presumed that a speedy peace would be the result of the czar's death, and both at London and Paris the funds rose at once and considerably. The death of Nicholas removed the chief cause of the war, or that which was so regarded; for it was generally, and probably to a large extent truly, assumed that that cause was his gigantic ambition and inflexible will.* Those who believed in the speedy advent of his view, which he takes to be also that of Providence, he regards the Russian nation as destined hereafter to exercise supreme dominion over Europe. He bases his opinion on the fact that the European nations have for the most part fallen into a condition of decrepitude not far removed from collapse, whence he considers that they may easily be subjugated by a new and youthful race, as soon as the latter shall have attained its full vigour.

The Russian monarch looks upon the coming influx of the northerners into the east and west as a periodical movement, which forms part of the scheme of Providence, which, in like manner, by the invasions of the barbarians, effected the regeneration of the Roman world. He compares these migrations of the Polar nations to the inundations of the Nile, which at certain seasons fertilises the arid soil of Egypt. He adds, that Russia, which he found a brook, and should leave a river, must, under his successors, grow to a mighty sea, destined to fertilise worn-out Europe, and that its waves would advance over all obstacles if his successors were only capable of guiding the stream. On this account he leaves behind him for their use the following rules, which he recommends to their attention and constant study, even as Moses consigned his tables of the law to the Jewish people:—

"RULES.

"1. The Russian nation must be constantly on a war footing to keep the soldiers warlike and in good condition. No rest must be allowed except for the purpose of relieving the state finances, recruiting the army, or biding the favourable moment for attack. By these means peace is made subservient to war, and war to peace, in the interest of the aggrandisement and increasing prosperity of Russia.

"2. Every possible means must be used to invite from the most cultivated European states comman-

* In seeking for the causes of the war, we must look beyond the resolute and acquisitive ambition of Nicholas to the traditional policy of the house of Romanoff. We have more than once alluded to the secret instructions said to be handed down in the Russian court, since the time of Peter the Great, from cabinet to cabinet. That policy is said to be explained in the following document, assuming to be a copy of the will of that remarkable man. We insert it here as an historical curiosity, for it certainly seems to indicate the course which the recent potentates of Russia, from Catherine II. downwards, have all (with the exception of the unhappy Peter III.) more or less pursued. The document, however, came to light through a suspicious medium, and we confess to a strong doubt as to its genuineness. If authentic, we cannot understand how the astute statesmen of Russia were deceived into allowing a foreigner to take a copy of it, as of course the value of the policy laid down in it is lost the moment the veil of profound secrecy is removed. The copy we here present has been translated from a German work entitled *Geschichte Peters des Grossen*. Von Eduard Pelz, Leipsic. It is there said to have been translated by the notorious Chevalier d'Eon, French ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg in the year 1757, and to have been made public shortly afterwards.

"THE WILL OF PETER THE GREAT.

"In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, we, Peter, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., to all our successors on the throne and in the government of the Russian nation;

"Forasmuch as the great God, who is the author and giver of our life and crown, hath constantly illumined us with His light, and upheld us with His support," &c.

Here Peter sets out in detail that, according to

peace considered that the counsels of the aged Nesselrode (who is understood to have been ever opposed to the war) would soon acquire that influence with the new sovereign which they once possessed with Nicholas, until overborne and subdued by his imperative will. On the other hand, it was conjectured that the successor of Nicholas, who was supposed to be of a peaceable and pleasure-loving nature, might swim with the stream, whether for peace or

war; and it was regarded as certain that all the old Muscovite nobility desired a continuance of the struggle, in order that the ascendancy of Russia might be established, and that which they regarded as the national destiny fulfilled. The idea had been broached in Russia, that the son of the emperor—the son born after his father's accession to the throne—had a better claim to the succession than the son born to Nicholas while himself yet a subject. Constantine, the second son

ders in war and philosophers in peace, to enable the Russian nation to participate in the advantages of other countries without losing any of its own.

"3. No opportunity must be lost of taking part in the affairs and disputes of Europe, especially in those of Germany, which, from its vicinity, is of the most direct interest to us.

"4. Poland must be divided by keeping up constant jealousies and confusions there. The authorities must be gained over with money, and the assemblies corrupted so as to influence the election of the kings. We must get up a party of our own there, send Russian troops into the country, and let them sojourn there so long that they may ultimately find some pretext for remaining there for ever. Should the neighbouring states make difficulties, we must appease them for the moment by allowing them a share of the territory until we can safely resume what we have thus given away.

"5. We must take away as much territory as possible from Sweden, and contrive that they shall attack us first, so as to give us a pretext for their subjugation. With this object in view, we must keep Sweden in opposition to Denmark, and Denmark to Sweden, and sedulously foster their mutual jealousies.

"6. The consorts of the Russian princes must always be chosen from among the German princesses, in order to multiply our family alliances with the Germans, and so unite our interests with theirs; and thus, by consolidating our influence in Germany, to cause it to attach itself spontaneously to our policy.

"7. We must be careful to keep up our commercial alliance with England, for she is the power which has most need of our products for her navy, and at the same time may be of the greatest service to us in the development of our own. We must export wood and other articles in exchange for her gold, and establish permanent connexions between her merchants and seamen and our own.

"8. We must keep steadily extending our frontiers—northward along the Baltic, and southward along the shores of the Black Sea.

"9. We must progress as much as possible in the direction of Constantinople and India. He who can once get possession of these places is the real ruler of the world. With this view we must provoke constant quarrels at one time with Turkey and at another with Persia. We must establish wharfs and docks in the Euxine, and by degrees make ourselves masters of that sea as well as of the Baltic, which is a doubly important element in the success of our plan. We must hasten the downfall of Persia, push on into the Persian Gulf; if possible re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse with the Levant through Syria, and force our way into the Indies,

which are the storehouses of the world. Once there, we can dispense with English gold.

"10. Moreover, we must take pains to establish and maintain an intimate union with Austria, apparently countenancing her schemes for future aggrandisement in Germany, and all the while secretly rousing the jealousy of the minor states against her. In this way we must bring it to pass that one or the other party shall seek aid from Russia; and thus we shall exercise a sort of protectorate over the country, which will pave the way for future supremacy.

"11. We must make the house of Austria interested in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and we must neutralise its jealousy at the capture of Constantinople either by preoccupying it with a war with the old European states, or by allowing it a share of the spoil, which we can afterwards resume at our leisure.

"12. We must collect round our house, as round a centre, all the detached sections of Greeks which are scattered abroad in Hungary, Turkey, and South Poland. We must make them look to us for support, and then, by establishing beforehand a sort of ecclesiastical supremacy, we shall pave the way for universal sovereignty.

"13. When Sweden is ours, Persia vanquished, Poland subjugated, Turkey conquered—when our armies are united, and the Euxine and the Baltic are in the possession of our ships, then we must make separate and secret overtures first to the court of Versailles, and then to that of Vienna, to share with them the dominion of the world. If either of them accepts our propositions, which is certain to happen if their ambition and self-interest are properly worked upon, we must make use of this one to annihilate the other; this done, we have only to destroy the remaining one by finding a pretext for a quarrel, the issue of which cannot be doubtful, as Russia will then be already in the absolute possession of the East and of the best part of Europe.

"14. Should the improbable ease happen of both rejecting the propositions of Russia—then our policy will be to set one against the other, and make them tear each other to pieces. Russia must then watch for and seize the favourable moment, and pour her already assembled hosts into Germany, while two immense fleets, laden with Asiatic hordes and conveyed by the armed squadrons of the Euxine and the Baltic, set sail simultaneously from the Sea of Azoff and the harbour of Archangel. Sweeping along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, they will overrun France on the one side, while Germany is overpowered on the other. When these countries are fully conquered, the rest of Europe must fall easily and without a struggle under our yoke. Thus Europe can and must be subjugated."

of the late emperor, was of a fanatical, warlike, and ambitious nature, and it was assumed that his claim was secretly favoured by the war party, including the ancient nobility and clergy of Russia. When, therefore, it was known that Alexander had been permitted to assume the imperial sceptre without opposition, it was regarded as probable that he had changed his opinions, and was prepared to carry out, as best he could, the policy he found organised to his hand.

Notwithstanding the floating surmises to the contrary, the late czar's eldest son, Alexander, assumed the government without opposition immediately after his father's death, and at once received homage as emperor. His position was one of difficulty, if not of danger. If Russia prevailed in the war, the result would probably be an European convulsion; but if it failed, the consequences would probably shake the throne of the new czar to its foundations. Few empires—none, perhaps, except the Turkish—possess within themselves the seeds of disruption to a greater extent than that of Russia. It is composed of an aggregate of discordant nationalities, many of which are ready to fly asunder. The Muscovite population is indeed the dominant party in the state, and the nucleus of the population; but in numerical comparison with the millions under the sway of the czar, it is but of insignificant importance. Great as was the energy of Nicholas, it was instantly perceived that that of Alexander must be greater to succeed where his father had failed. Yet he stood in a highly favourable position for the conclusion of peace. He could recede without humbling himself in the estimation of the princes of Europe. He was not identified with the pretensions which led to the war, nor bound to employ the men who had promoted it. His pride was not pledged to the refusal of conditions, and his honour was more concerned in the restoration of peace than in the prolongation of hostilities.

Shortly after the death of the Emperor Nicholas, a very remarkable letter, from the pen of a distinguished physician, appeared in the columns of the *Times*. It contained a prophecy based upon science, which events had fulfilled with a singular accuracy:—

"Sir,—I commit into your hands the following letter and memorandum for publica-

tion. It is fit that the people of this country should know that at the commencement of the diplomatic dispute with Russia, ministers were made aware of the state of mind and prospect of life of its mighty ruler. The discussions carried on with him were shaped on the usual metaphysical grounds. They should have been guided instead by a knowledge of the physical condition of the disputant.

"At every confidential interview with the British representative, up started the monomaniacal idea of '*l'homme malade—grave-ment malade*,' which was often repeated, 'not without excitement,' added Sir George. If this fact did not of itself open the eyes of ministers in January and February of 1853, the timely professional warning conveyed to them in the annexed letter not long after might, one would think, put ministers on their guard, albeit the warning came from an humble individual. Who knows how many thousand lives since sacrificed and millions of money squandered might not have been saved if, on the conviction of the truth of the warning received, instead of continuing for months together all sorts of unprofitable arguments, peremptory language and peremptory action had been employed, leaving no time to the imperial and real 'sick man' for the infliction on his own devoted people and those of the three nations allied against him of that irreparable mischief which he has been suffered to perpetrate! It was thus that Pitt dealt with Paul. But, alas! there is no Pitt now.*

"For regularity's sake, I mention that three passages in the following letter, which was strictly confidential, are omitted. The first was the expression of a purely religious opinion, which, though awfully appropriate at this moment, might be considered presumptuous. The second detailed the grounds on which during my residence of several weeks in St. Petersburg, in 1849, in attendance on a high personage at the imperial court, I formed the medical opinion which I deemed it my duty to convey to the government at home; their publication at this moment would be injudicious. The third passage was an allusion to my ill-requited service in the navy, which cannot interest your readers.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. B. GRANVILLE, M.D.

* In many respects it is fortunate that there is not. But circumstances have materially altered since Pitt's time; and were he now living he would

find it impossible to acquire that almost despotic authority which he possessed during the last great war.

“ ‘*Confidential Letter to Viscount Palmerston, dated Kissingen, Bavaria, July 6th, 1853.*

“ ‘My Lord,—Failing in my endeavours to meet with your lordship at the appointed interview at the House of Commons on the 22nd ult., at which I proposed to make a *viva voce* communication of some importance to the government, as I thought, concerning the present political discussions with Russia, I stated, in a second note written at the moment of my departure from England for this place, that I regretted the disappointment, inasmuch as the subject of the intended communication, from its delicate nature, did not admit of being committed to paper.

“ ‘I think so still. But, on the other hand, the necessity of the government being put in possession of the communication appears to me to become every day so much more urgent, that if it is to be of any use it must be made at once, or it will fail to direct ministers in time, as I think the communication is capable of doing, in their negotiations with Russia, and in their estimation of the one particular element which, I apprehend, has first provoked, and is since pushing on the emperor in his present reckless course.

“ ‘Mine is not a political, but a professional communication, therefore strictly confidential. It is not conjectural, but positive, largely based on personal knowledge, and partly on imparted information accidentally obtained—it is not essential that I should say from whom, for I take the responsibility of the whole on myself, inasmuch as the whole but confirms what I have myself observed, studied, or heard on the spot.

“ ‘The western cabinets find the conduct of the Emperor Nicholas strange, preposterous, inconsistent, unexpected. They wonder at his demands; they are startled at his state papers; they cannot comprehend their context; they recognise not in them the clear and close reasoning of the Nestor of Russian diplomacy, but rather the dictates of an iron will to which he has been made to affix his name; they view the emperor's new international principles as extravagant; they doubt if he be under the guidance of wise counsels. Yet they proceed to treat, negotiate, and speak as if none of these perplexing novelties in diplomacy existed on the part of a power hitherto considered as the model of political loyalty. The western cabinets are in error.

“ ‘The health of the czar is shaken. It has become so gradually for the last five years. He has been irritable, passionate, fanciful, more than usually superstitious, capricious, hasty, precipitate, and obstinate withal—all from ill-health, unskilfully treated; and of late deteriorating into a degree of cerebral excitement, which, while it takes from him the power of steady reasoning, impels him to every extravagance, in the same manner as with his father in 1800; as with Alexander, in Poland, in 1820; as with Constantine, at Warsaw, in 1830; as with Michael, at St. Petersburg, in 1848-’9. Like them, his nature feels the fatal transmission of hereditary insanity, the natural consequence of an overlooked and progressive congestion of the brain. Like them, he is hurrying to his fate—sudden death, from congestive disease. The same period of life, between forty-five and sixty years of age, sees the career of this fated family cut short.

“ ‘Paul, at first violent and fanatical, a perfect lunatic at forty-five years of age, is dispatched at forty-seven, in 1801.

“ ‘Alexander dies at Taganrog, in December, 1825, aged forty-eight. For five years previously his temper and his mind had at times exhibited the parental malady by his capricious and wayward manner of treating the Polish provinces. He died of congestive fever of the brain, during which he knocked down his favourite physician, Sir James Wylie, who assured me of the fact at St. Petersburg in 1828, because he wished to apply leeches to his temples.

“ ‘Constantine, eccentric always, tyrannical, cruel, dies at Warsaw suddenly in July, 1831, aged fifty-two years, after having caused rebellion in the country by his harsh treatment of the cadet officers. I saw and conversed with him on the parade and in his palace at Warsaw in December, 1828. His looks and demeanour sufficiently denoted to a medical man what he was, and what his fate would be. It has been said that he died of cholera; again, that he had been dispatched like his father. The physician-in-chief of the Polish military hospitals assured me some years after that he had died apoplectic and in a rage.

“ ‘Michael, after many years of suffering from the same complaints which afflict his only surviving brother—enlarged liver, deranged digestion, and fulness of blood in the head—became in 1848-’9, intolerably irritable, violent, and tyrannical to his own

officers of the artillery and engineers service, of which he was the supreme chief. In July, 1849, he consulted me at St. Petersburg. It was after he had passed in review the whole train of artillery which was leaving the capital for Hungary, at which review I was present and near him, and witnessed scenes of violent temper towards generals and aides-de-camp hardly equalled in a lunatic asylum. I found him as described above. I advised cupping, diet, non-exposure to the sun and to fatigue, the administration of suitable medicines and the cessation from drinking steel mineral waters, of which he was fond ever since he had been at Kissingen. His physician, the younger Sir James Wylie (himself since suddenly dead), assented reluctantly, but did not carry my advice into execution. The grand-duke, in the state he was, unrelieved by any medical measure or proper treatment, joined the army, rode out in the sun, and fell from his horse apoplectic in September, 1849, aged forty-eight.

"To complete this disastrous picture of the grandchildren of Catherine, their mother, Maria of Wurtemberg, a most exemplary princess, died apoplectic in November, 1829, scarcely more than sixty-five years of age. The attack, mistaken for weakness, was treated with stimulants and bark by her physician, Ruhl, and bleeding was only had recourse to when the mistake was discovered—but too late to save. The meek and mild Elizabeth had but a short time before followed her imperial partner, Alexander, to the grave, in the still fresh years of womanhood, fifty years of age.

"During my second sojourn in St. Petersburg, in 1849, for a period of ten weeks What the opinion was of the emperor's health—what acts of his came to my knowledge, which bespoke eccentricity—what were the sentiments of his physician, Dr. Mandt, who, homœopathist as he is, and exercising a most peremptory influence over his master, leaves him, nevertheless, unrelieved, except by mystical drops and globules—what transpired of political doctrines and opinions, or, in fine, what I gathered afterwards at Moscow, on all equal points, must be left to your lordship's conjecture—not difficult after all I have divulged. To go further would be like a breach of trust, and of that I shall never be guilty.

"In all I have related there is nothing that had been committed to me as a pri-

vileged communication; while the imperative requirements of the moment calling for its immediate divulgement, I hesitate not to make it, under the firmest conviction that my fears and anticipations will be surely realised.

"If so, then the method of dealing with an all-powerful sovereign so visited must differ from the more regular mode of transacting business between government and government. For this purpose it is—namely, to put her majesty's ministers on their guard accordingly, that I have determined to place in your lordship's hands the present professional information, which must be considered as so strictly confidential that I shall not sign it with my name.

"That I have selected your lordship as the channel of my communication rather than the minister of foreign affairs, to whom more properly it should have been addressed, will at once appear natural to your lordship. In my capacity of once, and for some years, your lordship's physician (though not now honoured with that title), your lordship has known me personally, and is convinced that what my pen commits to paper may be taken as coming from an honourable man and your obedient servant."

"N.B.—An acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter came by return of post in Lord Palmerston's handwriting.

"Memorandum.—At an interview with Lord Palmerston, February 23rd, 1854, on matters of a private nature, his lordship was pleased to ask me before we separated whether I still adhered to my opinion and prediction. I replied that before July, 1855 (the emperor would then be fifty-nine years old), what I had anticipated would happen. 'Let but a few reverses overtake the emperor,' I added, 'and his death, like that of all his brothers, will be sudden.' It has proved so. Alma, Inkermann, Balaklava, shook the mighty brain. Eupatoria completed the stroke, which has anticipated my prognosis only by a few weeks.

"A. B. G."

It is impossible to deny the correctness of Dr. Granville's observations, or the sagacity of his conclusions with reference to the physical condition of the Emperor Nicholas. Still we demur to the political inference which the doctor drew from his premises. We do not think the czar's irritability and excitement amounted to insanity, even in a very minor degree; and certainly disease did not prevail to such an extent as to

make him an irresponsible being, or unaware of the terrible results of his actions. But assuming this to be the case—assuming that the brain was diseased—we greatly doubt that the employment of “peremptory language and peremptory action” towards the czar, in the first instance, would have averted the evils which his ambition inflicted upon Europe. Such a line of conduct would, we fancy, have hurried a potentate, who trembled on the brink of insanity, into further violence, and probably into acts of outrage, tyranny, and furious recklessness. It occurs to us that the British government did take Dr. Granville’s suggestions into consideration; and we point to the long forbearance and readiness of conciliation they exhibited towards the czar as proofs of our supposition.

It may be readily conceived that the news of the czar’s death was received with feelings of gratification both in France and England. Those emotions were not, however, universal throughout Europe. The court of Prussia went into mourning for a month; and the theatres in that country were commanded to remain closed for three days. On receiving the news, Frederick William immediately commissioned the Prince of Prussia to set off to St. Petersburg, to express the condolence of his family with the empress, and to be present at the funeral. The prince’s travelling equipages were accordingly got ready, but in consequence of the representations of his physician as to the danger of the journey in the prince’s delicate state of health, the king commissioned Prince Charles to go instead.

In the Austrian court, also, information of the death of Nicholas was received with real or assumed sorrow. The emperor issued an order of the day to his army, ordaining that, as a mark of gratitude for the assistance given to the empire by the late czar at a period of trial and calamity, the Austrian cuirassier regiment “Emperor Nicholas,” should retain that denomination for ever in the Austrian army. At Vienna the following official article, on the death of the Emperor Nicholas, appeared in the *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* on the evening of March the 3rd. Though we suppose too much importance must not be attached to the formal ceremonies and observances of courts, yet it looked as if the affection of Austria still leant in the direction of Russia.

“The melancholy tidings which we yesterday evening communicated to the public have filled all hearts with sorrow. Recent occurrences have led to dissensions; there have been differences of opinion as to the duties of the various powers in regard to the events in the East; there have been conflicting opinions as to the course of action which the state of affairs requires; but all these matters have been cast into the background by the painful feeling caused by the great loss which the whole of Europe has suffered by the decease of one of its most highly gifted sovereigns. The reign of the emperor, which lasted almost thirty years, is one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Russia, and the name and memory of the defunct monarch is intimately connected with all those important events which have occurred within that long and momentous space of time. No one will be so prejudiced by the complications of the last few months as to refuse to acknowledge, and that with the deepest gratitude, the great services rendered by the late Emperor Nicholas to the cause of order, of legality, and of the monarchical principle, which together form the great pillars of the European family of states. But Austria, which yesterday, as the anniversary of the death of the Emperor Francis (1835), had such a vivid recollection of its affliction at the loss of that ever-memorable paternal ruler, is particularly struck that, by a singular dispensation of Providence, Russia should on the very same day receive such a heavy blow, and that it should in both empires be a date attended with sorrowful recollections.

“The only alleviation that can be found for the painful impression which the astounding news has caused, is in the thought of the estimable qualities of the eldest son and successor of the Emperor Nicholas, the Emperor Alexander II.

“It is confidently to be expected that the monarch who has now ascended the throne of his deceased father will realise the sanguine hopes which are placed in him, as well in his own great empire as in the rest of the world, and that the work of peace just commenced—which was rendered possible by the honourable advances made by the defunct sovereign—will, from a feeling of filial devotion, be brought to a happy issue by the mild and propitiatory spirit of Alexander II.”

The Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, also sent his imperial highness the Arch-

duke William to St. Petersburg, to present his condolences to the empress-dowager and to the new emperor, and to congratulate the latter on his accession to the throne. It was urged by those who believed that Austria would eventually draw the sword in conjunction with the allies, that these were simply acts of courtesy, customary between princes, but by no means proof of a modification of the policy of the court of Vienna. It is said that the Austrian government made a communication to this effect to the respective governments of France and England; adding, that the visit of the archduke had nothing whatever to do with political matters, and that, should any such topics be touched upon during his stay in the Russian capital, he was requested to declare that his instructions were that he should not enter upon any political topics. The French government also showed some cold tokens of respect for the deceased czar. Invitations for some concerts which were to have taken place at the Tuileries were countermanded; several vendors of ballads and doggerel stanzas, insulting the memory of the czar, were arrested; and two sub-prefects, who had invited their districts to illuminate, as a manifestation of public rejoicing, were punished.

The Emperor Alexander soon made known to his people the course he proposed to pursue. The day of his father's death he composed and issued the following warlike manifesto. In it, it will be observed that he promised to address himself to accomplish the views of his predecessors Peter, Catherine, Alexander, and of his father—that is, to extend the Russian sway and territory, especially in the direction of the East. If this was to be regarded as a truthful representation of his views, the politicians of Europe had been singularly deceived when they represented Alexander as a mild and peace-loving prince. It was, however, generally considered that this vaunting manifesto did not express the real convictions of the emperor, but that it was merely a sacrifice to the warlike spirit of his people, whose aggressive ambition, it was contended, he might not feel himself at liberty to check, until securely seated on the imperial throne:—

By the grace of God, we, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, &c.,

To all our faithful subjects make known:—

In his impenetrable ways, it has pleased God to strike us all with a blow as terrible as it was unexpected.

After a short but serious illness, which in the last days developed itself with unheard-of rapidity, our beloved father, the Emperor Nicholas Paulovitch, expired this day, February 18th (March 2nd.) Words cannot express our grief, which will be also the grief of all our faithful subjects. We submit with resignation to the impenetrable view of Divine Providence. We seek consolation only in it, and from it alone do we expect the necessary strength to support the load which it has pleased the Almighty to impose upon us. In the same manner as our beloved father, whose loss we weep, devoted all his efforts and every moment of his life to the labours and cares claimed by the welfare of his subjects—in like manner do we also at this sad but grave and solemn moment, in ascending our hereditary throne of the empire of Russia, and of the kingdom of Poland, and of the Grand-duchy of Finland, which are inseparable from it, take before the invisible God, always present at our side, the sacred engagement never to have any other object than the prosperity of our country. May Providence, which has called us to this high mission, may we, under its guidance and protection, consolidate Russia in the highest degree of power and glory; that through us may be accomplished the views and the desires of our illustrious predecessors, Peter, Catherine, Alexander the well-beloved, and of our august father, of imperishable memory!

By their proved zeal, by their prayers, united with fervour to ours, before the altars of the Most High, our dear subjects will come to our aid. We invite them to do so, ordering them at the same time to take the oath of allegiance to us and also to our heir his imperial highness the Czarovitch Grand-duke Nicholas Alexandrovitch.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 18th day of the month of February (2nd March), 1855, and of our reign the first.

ALEXANDER.

The new emperor, Alexander II., also addressed the two following orders of the day, dated March 3rd, to the Russian army:—

1. "Valiant warriors, faithful defenders of church, and throne, and fatherland!—It has pleased Almighty God to visit us with a most severe and heavy loss. Our common

father and benefactor has been taken from us. In the midst of indefatigable cares for the welfare of Russia and the glory of the Russian arms, my beloved father, the Emperor Nicholas Paulovitch, has passed away to eternal life!

"His last words were,—'I thank my glorious faithful guard that saved Russia in 1825; I thank the brave and faithful army and fleet. I pray to God that He will preserve in them constantly the same bravery, the same spirit for which they have distinguished themselves under me. As long as this spirit exists, the peace of the empire is secured from within and without, and then woe to its foes! I have loved my troops as my own children, and have endeavoured, as only I could, to improve their state. If I have not succeeded in everything, it was not for want of the desire, but because I either did not know better, or was not able to do more.'

"May you preserve for ever these memorable words in your hearts as the proof of his sincere love for you, which I, in the fullest degree, participate in, and as the pledge of your devotion to me and Russia."

2. "Valiant warriors! Stanch comrades in arms of your illustrious leader, now resting in God!—You have impressed on your hearts the last expression of his tender, fatherly love for you. As a remembrance of this love, I confer on you, troops of the guard, 1st corps of cadets, and grenadier regiment (Suwarrow), the uniforms that his majesty the emperor, your benefactor, was pleased to wear. Preserve this pledge, and may it be held by you as a relic, as a memento to future generations.

"I further order—1. In the companies and squadrons which have hitherto borne the name of his imperial majesty all ranks shall wear on their epaulettes and shoulder-pieces the initials of the Emperor Nicholas I., as long as there is one man left of those on the rolls of the army February 18th, 1855 (March 2nd.) 2. The generals attached to the person of his imperial majesty, and also the general and flügel adjutants of his majesty, shall retain these initials in all cases where they formerly had them.

"Thus may the hallowed remembrance of Nicholas I. for ever be perpetuated in our ranks, and may it be a terror to the enemy and the glory of the fatherland."

Prince Mentschikoff had been recalled from the command of the army in the

Crimca by the late emperor, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, but in reality on account of the uniform failure of his attempts to defeat the allied armies, or compel them to raise the siege of Sebastopol. Prince Gortschakoff was appointed by the new emperor as commander-in-chief of the army of the south.

Everything of importance in reference to the last hours of the Emperor Nicholas is of interest to the historical reader; we therefore feel no hesitation in giving the following account in connexion with them from the pen of the Paris correspondent of the *Times*:—"There have been various versions of the incidents which passed at the death-bed of the Emperor Nicholas, and of the words he addressed, or is supposed to have addressed, to the present emperor. I have seen a letter, which professes to give an exact account of the matter; and though I do not generally attach much credit to this sort of relations, and though I by no means vouch for the accuracy of the present one, yet, as I have found on a previous occasion a remarkable instance of the writer's correctness, I have no hesitation in giving it. According to this account, the czar, on his death-bed, and in presence of the empress, said to the heir to his crown, that it was necessary to make peace, even though at the cost of reducing their power in the Black Sea; that the responsibility of that concession would not rest on Alexander II., but on himself; that he never could bring himself to believe in the possibility or the reality of an alliance between England and France, and in that incredulity consisted his great error; that the tone of public opinion in England led him astray, because he had believed that the Emperor Napoleon cherished in his heart an ardent hatred against the English; that the Emperor Napoleon, being a man of a most obstinate character, would to the last moment persist in humiliating Russia; *that England and France united would sooner or later unite all Europe in their alliance*, with perhaps the exception of Prussia and of two or three petty states of Germany; that France alone, aided with the money of England, was capable of throwing an immense host into the Russian territory, and would pass over the body of Prussia to do so if necessary; that such were the reasons why he recommended his heir to make peace; that he should for the moment reduce the Russian power; that he (the Emperor Nicholas) had been great and

powerful, and perhaps his pride had been excessive throughout his long reign; and that perhaps God had, therefore, humbled him at the close of his career; but the will of God be done; that the object his heir should never lose sight of was to labour for the dissolution of the English and French alliance, and to bring over to Russia Austria, which Prussia had foolishly alienated and offended, and that his immediate care should be that Prussia should have weight in the conference, in order to diminish as much as possible the onerous conditions demanded by the Western Powers. Such is the substance of what the emperor is said to have recommended to his son in his dying moments."

It was reported that a circular despatch, of a very different tone from the Emperor Alexander's manifesto, had been issued to Russian representatives abroad. It stated that the mission of the new emperor was to shield the integrity of Russia, but especially to restore peace to his empire and the world. On the other hand, this was directly opposed by information received from St. Petersburg, as the following letter, dated March 9th, from that capital will show:—

"The acts of the government, and especially the official words of the new emperor, tend to show more and more clearly the line of conduct which he purposes to follow. All these speeches, addressed at the present moment to the representatives of the different bodies and administrations of the state, may be condensed in these two words, '*Je maintiendrai*;' or in other words, 'I am firmly resolved to march in the way traced out by my father.' The evening before he addressed the diplomatic corps the czar appeared at the council of state. There, for more than half-an-hour, he spoke on the present situation of affairs with an eloquence and precision of language which struck every one present. His warlike address to the officers of the guard, who assembled to take the oaths of allegiance to him, was also much remarked; and the deputation of the nobility having presented themselves, in order to render an account to his majesty of the election of the chiefs of the militia, were harangued in their turn with much warmth. This discourse terminated thus:—'I solemnly declare that I will not give up a single inch of Russian territory to our enemies. I will take good care to prevent their penetrating further on the soil of our country—and never, never—may my hand wither first!—

will I affix my signature to a treaty which shall bring the slightest dishonour on the national honour.' These words were spoken with a tone and energy of vehemence which excited among all present the most rapturous applause.

"In order to explain this enthusiasm, I must mention to you that in the saloons of the capital, and particularly at Moscow, the centre of the old Russian party, the late emperor was frequently reproached with having made too many concessions. You may judge by that fact if it be possible for his successor to grant any of the kind expected from him by the Western Powers. Amid the general movement of the public mind which carries them on more and more to a war à l'outrance—to a war which is declared to be holy throughout the whole empire, I must not conceal from you that a good deal of discontent begins to show itself. Whether right or wrong—and this fact time alone can show to be just—the Slavonic party accuses the new sovereign of showing tendencies by far too Germanic. The old Museovites murmur at what they term the *German invasion* in the most important public offices of the state. They complain that the men who have the nearest access to the person of the czar are of German extraction. For example, they see in the rank of his most intimate counsellors the two counts Adlerberg, father and son; two other aides-de-camp, Patkoul and Merder, who enjoy especial favour, derive their origin from the Baltic provinces; the recall of Prince Mentschikoff, and the nomination of generals Osten-Sacken, Luders, Berg, and Rudiger are not of a kind to reassure the Russians of the old stock on the Germanic tendencies with which they reproach the Emperor Alexander II.; and, finally, the personages sent to the different courts to notify his accession to the crown are all of Teutonic origin, as, for instance, generals Lieven Grünwald, Budberg, and the son of Count Nesselrode. This predilection for the German party excites, I repeat, serious complaints. It is generally supposed in Europe that the autocrat is absolute master in his empire, but this is a great error. The czar is much more subservient than people think to the exigencies of his nobility, and he is obliged to allow them a large share in the government. The great difficulty for him is to know how to distribute his favours so as to avoid giving dissatisfaction either to the Slavonic party or the German party,

between whom the struggle has never for a moment ceased since the time of Peter the Great. At the commencement of each reign each of these rival parties make desperate efforts to raise its influence above the other, and they wage a mortal war. The Russians were in high favour under Catherine II., but were ousted by the Germans under Alexander I., so much so that General Yermoloff is related to have said one day to that sovereign, when asked to demand some favour, 'Make me a German.' The Emperor Nicholas showed much ability in holding the balance, so as not to incline to one party or the other, and he kept both down with an iron hand. Will his successor succeed in doing the same? That is the question. It will be resolved before long, but in the meantime I think it right to direct your attention to the fact, as it may exercise much influence on the energy and duration of the present conflict."

On the 7th of March, the Emperor Alexander II. delivered the following address to the diplomatic corps; an address which appears to exhibit a considerable amount of mental vigour:—

"I am persuaded, gentlemen, that all your courts feel sincere sorrow at the misfortune which has befallen us; I have already received proofs of it from all sides; they have greatly moved me, and I stated yesterday to the ministers of Prussia and Austria how much I appreciated them. I solemnly declare here before you, gentlemen, that I remain faithful to all the sentiments of my father, and that I will persevere in the line of political principles which served as a rule to my uncle, the Emperor Alexander, and to my father. These principles are those of the holy alliance. But, if that alliance no longer exists, it is certainly not the fault of my father. His intentions were always upright and loyal; and, if recently they were misunderstood by some persons, I do not doubt that God and history will do him justice. I am ready to contribute to a good understanding, on the conditions which he accepted. Like him, I desire peace, and wish to see the evils of war terminated; but if the conferences which are about to open at Vienna do not lead to a result honourable for us, then, gentlemen, at the head of my faithful Russia, I will combat with the whole nation, and I will perish sooner than yield.

As to my personal sentiments for your sovereign (here the emperor addressed Baron de Werther, minister of Prussia), they have not varied. I have never doubted the fraternal affection and friendship which his majesty the king always had for my father, and I told you yesterday how grateful I am to him for it. I am deeply sensible of the kind words which the emperor has caused to be transmitted to me on this occasion. (This was addressed to Count Esterhazy, minister of Austria.) His majesty cannot doubt the sincere affection which my father entertained for him at an epoch which he himself has recalled by the order of the day addressed to his army. Be kind enough, gentlemen, to communicate my words to your respective courts."

The body of the Emperor Nicholas lay in state at the winter palace, and the public were admitted at certain hours to see it. Three priests stood near the corpse and said mass alternately. Immense crowds thronged the apartment, the decorations of which were extremely simple, and every Russian as he passed knelt near the coffin, made the sign of the cross, and kissed the covering over the body. On the 11th of March, the remains of the emperor were carried to their final resting-place, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. The gorgeous procession proceeded amidst salvoes of artillery, the mournful beating of muffled drums, and the wailing of wind-instruments. As the magnificent sarcophagus passed along, the vast multitude bowed humbly and crossed themselves, and a great number knelt, as if in the presence of some sacred relic.

The remains of the emperor were left in silence and in darkness to return to dust, but his guilty ambition still disturbed the world; and his hand seemed to rise armed from the grave to smite down the peace of Europe. The evil spirit he had raised survived him, and the calamities he had created rolled on their gloomy course, though he no longer lived to contribute to them. Half a million of brave men had been his immediate heralds to the tomb, and a million of mourners had been made by his remorseless commands; still, no living man could say that a far greater number of victims would not be offered up to the memory of the ambitious and gorgeous despot of the north!

CHAPTER V.

ANOTHER DAY OF HUMILIATION; FEELING OF THE COUNTRY RESPECTING IT; DEBATE CONCERNING MR. ROEBUCK'S COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY; THE QUEEN VISITS THE WOUNDED SOLDIERS AT CHATHAM; RENEWAL OF THE BLOCKADE IN THE BLACK SEA; PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY; EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES; REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

It will be remembered, that soon after her majesty's declaration of war against Russia, on the 28th of March, 1854, a day of national humiliation and prayer was observed, for the purpose of imploring a blessing upon the efforts of our arms. At that time such an act was, at the least, unobjectionable, if not commendable. Although it can scarcely be conceived that the Eternal and All-merciful Father of the universe would assist one community of his creatures to slaughter another community, yet it must be acknowledged that fervent, sincere prayer is of the nature of an inspiration to a religious mind. If it does not reach the throne of the Divine Mystery, and return laden with a blessing, yet it strengthens the man who prays, and gives him a resolution to address himself to his labour with an enthusiastic devotion to it. It is well, also, that war should be entered on with a due solemnity, and not without just cause; and therefore it is proper, in going to war, to appoint a day when the collective mind of the nation shall be fixed upon the terrible and awful act which it sanctions, and, in effect, performs. Thus, although it was urged by many that to implore the Deity for success in works of gigantic bloodshed and torture, was an unhallowed request—a prayer which, indeed, stood almost on the verge of blasphemy—yet we spoke no word against the observance of a day of national humiliation and prayer on that occasion.

Very different was the feeling which animated us, in common with hundreds of thousands of the most intelligent of our countrymen, when, on the 28th of February, 1855, another proclamation was put forth, in the name of the queen, for another day "of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer." It was considered that this great people had been indeed most bitterly humiliated already—not by the act of God, for that would necessarily constitute a case for prayer and mental abasement, but by the incompetence or misconduct of their rulers. To hold a day of humiliation at such a

critical period, was equivalent to a confession of weakness to the enemy, and an announcement to Europe that we feared we were overmatched in the great struggle in which we were engaged. How, it was inquired, would the news be received at St. Petersburg if not as a cheering hope to the enemy, and a sign that the resources of England were almost exhausted? The terms also of the proclamation were offensive to the religious feelings of a great part of the country, as well as to the sense of spiritual liberty which, in ruder ages, has been purchased by so vast an amount of suffering, and which in these times is justly prized as the inalienable right of Englishmen. "We," said the document—speaking in the name of the noble lady whose title it usurped—"do strictly charge and command that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid His wrath and indignation." It was felt that the state of mind necessary for fervent prayer was not to be arbitrarily produced by a royal mandate, and that as God alone was the object to whom all prayers must be addressed, so that to God alone belonged the solemn duty of commanding men to pray. It was felt that, in this great matter, governments and princes have ever erred, and that the objects for which they had commanded prayer had been often unworthy, low, and base. It was felt that the secular power of a fallible sovereign should not presume to direct the spiritual prayers and aspirations of a people, and stand like a shadow between them and their God. It was felt that, since the papal tyranny had been trampled under foot by the English nation, it would not be permitted to any sovereign to assume his shattered sceptre, and claim authority over the souls of his subjects. It was felt that a proposition for national prayer and prostration ought to come from the people to the state, and not from the state to the people. Feelings of

this kind made the 21st of March (the day appointed) coldly observed by some, and sternly condemned by others. The vast body of English dissenters were not the only people in these islands who regarded the command to pray and fast as a popish

* The following able remarks on this subject appeared in the columns of the *Examiner*, on the Sunday preceding the appointed day of humiliation:—"We certainly are a people much given to the observance of precedents. We lose an army, and precedent consoles us: it always happens in the first campaign. Why does it always happen? we are strongly disposed to ask; but we are told there is no precedent for such an inquiry. We nominate unproved men to important employments, we retain proved inefficient men in high offices, and ample precedent justifies the proceeding. And now, according to precedent, we are to pray and fast on Wednesday next. We are informed, indeed, that this 21st of March is not to be a fast-day. We have abandoned that popish superstition—by no means let us fast. Well, to those who are in easy circumstances this may be a gracious dispensation. Our statesmen who have bungled, and who now bid us all humble ourselves to deprecate the consequences of their bungling—they certainly will not fast. The 21st of March will be to them as other days, excepting only that it will be a holiday. No office, no committee, no House of Commons; only attendance at church in the morning to hear Mr. Melville, and, that popish superstition may not be countenanced in high places, dinner as usual in the evening. But there are some in this country upon whom that law is enforced which says, 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.' There are some to whom daily labour is daily bread, and to whom a command to be idle is, indeed, a command to fast. This seems hard. If ministers, or even if a member of parliament, were to be mulcted a day's pay, the inconvenience would not be great—the injustice perhaps still less. But these sheep—what have they done? Their part was to pay taxes, and they have paid them; was to send forth soldiers, and they have sent them. Their work, one would say, has not been done ill or grudgingly. A severe winter has combined with the war to increase suffering; an unusually long frost has combined with a dull trade to diminish employment, and so multiply hardship; and what religion is that which, when all this has been so patiently and bravely borne, steps in and says—'Humble yourselves; give up another day's work, another day's shopkeeping, another day's wages, another day's profits; for this will be pleasing in the sight of heaven, this will prove that the nation is lowly and penitent, this will perhaps avert some misfortune, perhaps win some favour for us—even the taking of Sebastopol?' What religion, we repeat, is this that presses thus hardly on the poor, while it makes dull the conscience of the rich? A day of humiliation! Surely we are already sorely humbled. What summons will stir in us such depths of shame as the letters from the Crimea? The lines of Sebastopol—the harbour of Balaklava—the graves of Scutari—a military system tried and found wanting, a military reputation jeopardised in the sight of Europe, a national *prestige* departing from us—if the thought of these things do not humble us, would a whole month of fast-days avail

ceremonial bordering upon profaneness and mummary. Our rulers were not in a condition to ask Heaven for success against our enemies, when they had done so little of themselves to obtain it.*

On the appointed day, the Bishop of

to do it? A year ago we fasted and prayed by precedent; we went to church; we heard sermons; but we came away, and we went on as usual writing, and reading, and talking of our glorious army, our unequalled fleets, and the magnificent spectacle which we presented to the nation. Alas! if the privy council day of humiliation could not keep us from boasting then, who shall say that it is wanted to make us humble now? A day of prayer—it is a solemn phrase, not to be spoken of irreverently; but of all things reverence is most opposed to cant. We have starved an army—therefore let us fast; we have found our vaunted system worthless—therefore let us humble ourselves; we have taken all measures to insure disaster, and disaster has attended our efforts—therefore let us pray! But it is not reverence to be cowardly, and it is not piety to be superstitious. *Laborare est orare*. The gods help those who help themselves; but never did the gods lend a pitying ear to those who in the hour of peril, when the ship was drifting towards breakers, left the ropes and betook themselves to easy prayers. Our Puritan ancestors fought with sword in one hand and Bible in the other; but the Bible was not in the wrong hand. The Great Apostle did not desire the sailors of a disabled ship to fast, but to eat; nor was it till those resources of precaution had been taken which eventually saved the vessel that he deemed it seemly or pious to call upon the ship's company to pray."

Mr. Charles Dickens, in his excellent serial the *Household Words*, had also the following reflections, which though somewhat whimsical, nevertheless go right to the heart of the matter, and express the common-sense views of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen:—"If the directors of any great joint-stock commercial undertaking—say a railway company—were to get themselves made directors principally in virtue of some blind superstition declaring every man of the name of Bolter to be a man of business, every man of the name of Jolter to be a mathematician, and every man of the name of Polter to possess a minute acquaintance with the construction of locomotive steam-engines; and if those ignorant directors so managed the affairs of the body corporate as that the trains never started at the right times, began at their right beginnings, or got to their right ends, but always devoted their steam to bringing themselves into violent collision with one another; and if by such means those incapable directors destroyed thousands of lives, wasted millions of money, and hopelessly bewildered and conglomerated themselves and everybody else; what would the shareholding body say if those brazen-faced directors called them together in the midst of the wreck and ruin they had made, and with an audacious piety addressed them thus:—'Lo, ye miserable sinners, the hand of Providence is heavy on you! Attire yourselves in sackcloth, throw ashes on your heads, fast, and hear us condescend to make discourses to you on the wrong you have done?' Or, if Mr. Matthew Marshall, of the Bank of England, were to be superseded by Bolter; if the whole bank parlour were to be cleared for Jolter; and the

Salisbury preached in Westminster Abbey, before the lord chancellor and about twenty peers, who represented the House of Lords on that occasion. The bishop took as his text part of the 13th verse of the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke,—“God be merciful to me a sinner.” The peers returned to their house of assembly after the service, where Earl Granville moved, that the thanks of their lordships be given to the bishop for his sermon, and that he be requested to print it. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, the Rev. Henry Melville, B.D., delivered a sermon before the prime minister, other members of the government, and a very small minority of the members of the House of Commons. The general congregation, however, attracted by the sight of so many public characters, was very numerous. “We regret to say,” observed a morning journal, “that an indecorous rush for admittance was made by the concourse which had collected from an early hour outside, on the church-doors being thrown open.” The text chosen by Mr. Melville for his discourse, was from the First Book of Kings, the eighth chapter, the 44th and 45th verses,—“If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the Lord toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name, then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause.” Mr. Melville was a deservedly popular preacher, and we will quote the conclusion of his discourse for its eloquence and interest, apart from its theological character:—“Above all,” exclaimed the preacher, “the war had called forth one fine and noble trait; it had shown that numbers of the weaker sex, though born to wealth and bred in luxury, were ready to renounce every comfort and to brave every hardship, that they might

engraving of bank-notes were to be given as a snug thing to Polter; and if Bolter, Jolter, and Polter, with a short pull and a weak pull and a pull no two of them together, should tear the money-market to pieces, and rend the whole mercantile system and credit of the country to shreds; what kind of reception would Bolter, Jolter, and Polter get from Baring Brothers, Rothschilds, and Lombard-street in general, if those incapables should cry out, ‘Providence has brought you all to the *Gazette*. Listen, wicked ones, and we will give you an improving lecture on the death of the old lady in Threadneedle-street!’ Or, if the servants in a rich man's household were to distribute their duties exactly as the fancy took them; if the housemaid were to undertake the kennel of hounds, and the dairymaid were to mount the coachbox, and the cook were to pounce upon the

minister to the suffering, tend the wounded in their agony, and soothe the last struggles of the dying. God bless them in this their heroic mission—it might almost be said in their heroic martyrdom!—for, in walking those long lines of sick beds, in devoting themselves to all the ghastly duties of a hospital, they were doing a harder thing than had been allotted to many who had mounted the scaffold or dared the stake. Passing, however, from these cheering circumstances, it must be recollected that our national sin had produced national calamity.* We had not acted up to the high calling as a people specially intrusted with ‘the oracles of God;’ and, with regard to the present struggle in particular, we had entered upon it in too boastful and overweening a spirit. All classes were therefore to be exhorted to do their part in the great work of national amendment; our legislators, by giving countenance to true religion, by extending the machinery of a sound and Christian education, and by enacting measures for repressing vice and ungodliness; and the community in general by self-examination, by repentance, by holiness of thought, word, and deed. To the discharge of this sacred duty all should address themselves at once. Who would reckon on to-morrow? There recently came sudden tidings to England; with ‘bated breath’ men whispered them one to the other; they seemed almost incredible, and yet they were authentic. The potentate who had been foremost in this struggle,—the man who stood out from the rest of his race, the most conspicuous, perhaps, in power, in energy, in strength of will, in firmness of purpose, in sweep of enterprise,—he was dead, dead with countless squadrons waiting his bidding—dead, with a convulsed kingdom watching his throes—dead, while a whole world, it might almost be said, was being shaken by secretarship, and the groom were to dress the dinner, and the gamekeeper were to make the beds, while the gardener gave the young ladies lessons on the piano, and the stable-helper took the baby out for an airing; would the rich man, soon very poor, be much improved in his mind when the whole incompetent establishment, surrounding him, exclaimed, ‘You have brought yourself to a pretty pass, sir! You had better see what fasting and humiliation will do to get you out of this. We will trouble you to pay us, keep us, and try!’”

* Humanly speaking, it would have been far more strictly in accordance with truth to have said that national *negligence*, and more especially the negligence of the rulers of the empire, had produced national calamity. England's rulers were guilty rather of wrong against the nation than of sin against God.

his tread. Then who would presume to count upon to-morrow? At once, lest death overtake us, let each resolve to be a better patriot, by being a better Christian. Thus might all be instrumental towards obtaining those blessings for which the nation now humbled itself in prayer. Better and brighter times might break upon the land. We might live to welcome back victorious armies. If thousands lay buried in a foreign strand—buried in no ignoble grave; for their resting-place would be a spot at which, for ages to come, valour would gain fresh life, and freedom trim her torch,—we might live to rejoice that they had not died in vain; that their death had procured for us a peace securing the rights of nations, and throwing up a rampart against future aggression. Then, in the beautiful imagery of prophecy, we might ‘sit, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make us afraid.’ There would be ‘no decay, no leading into captivity, and no complaining in our streets;’ but we should experience all the emphasis, all the richness of the saying—‘Happy is that people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.’”

On Friday, the 2nd of March, Mr. Roebuck moved in the House of Commons, that the committee of inquiry into the conduct of the war should be a committee of secrecy. The reasons urged by Mr. Roebuck (who had been chosen chairman of the committee) in behalf of a secret inquiry, were neither powerful nor conclusive. The chief point of objection to publicity was, that the proceedings of the French might come under censure, and our alliance with them be jeopardised in consequence. This argument certainly did not carry much weight with it, as the inquiry had nothing to do with the French, but with the condition in which our troops were, and the causes that had brought them into that condition. It is difficult to see how their alliance with the admirably organised army of France could have brought disorder, disease, and starvation amongst our soldiers. It was represented by Lord Palmerston, that the secrecy, if granted, would be a perfect nullity, for the committee could not prevent the persons examined from stating, in conversation, the nature of their evidence. He added, that the people would think it a juggle, and would never be satisfied with an inquiry of which they did not know the progress. Mr. Duncombe truly observed, that the

wrongs and disasters to our troops of which the people complained, had been perpetrated in the eyes of the world, and the inquiry ought to be conducted in the light of day.

The most effective objections to making the inquiry a secret one were urged by Sir James Graham, whose speech was of such interest that we make a few selections from it. “I have great faith in publicity,” said that gentleman, “as the great check where the cause of justice is at stake; and why is any tribunal here, involving the conduct of public men, the character of admirals, of generals, and of statesmen, to be conducted on principles different to those which prevail in our courts of law? In them life and property, and what are dearer than life and property—namely, the character and position of men in society, daily become the subject of investigation; and it is the life and spirit, and the very soul of justice, that publicity shall pervade and check all these proceedings. The sacred cause of justice itself is promoted by it. Bystanders constantly afford the means of contradicting false evidence, or suggest the means wanting to complete evidence. This tends to promote the cause of truth, and, if the same principle be adopted in a committee of this kind, I am convinced it will have the same effect. The object of the committee is to satisfy the desire of the public that an investigation should take place. I believe that that desire on the part of the public, is an honest desire to have the truth ascertained, with a view of correctives being applied to maladministration; and I do not believe that there is anything whatever vindictive in that desire. Perhaps the house will pardon me if I say that we, the representatives of the people, are influenced by somewhat different motives. Party feelings and party objects have mingled in our discussions in reference to this subject. The existence of those feelings, swaying even the judgment of the most honest men, will interfere, unless you take due precautions, with the justice of the investigation; and I know no check so strong as that the name of every person who puts a question shall be known to the public. His motives will be well understood, his words will be well weighed, and the salutary check of public opinion will be brought to bear upon the inquiry. I also conceive that the inquiry itself will be infinitely more guarded, when every witness knows that what he says before the committee is certain to be subject to

the ordeal of publicity and the ordeal of public opinion."

Sir James also considered that it was impossible to keep secret, proceedings in which the public took a vital interest. "My belief is," said he, "that between No. 17 up-stairs and Printing-house-square, a whispering-gallery will be established, which, day by day, will disclose to the public, in a manner which I think most exceptionable—namely, partially and imperfectly, what takes place before your committee of secrecy. The desire to maintain the character and the position of this house, is stronger than any other feeling which actuates me. That mace—that bauble—has encountered the sceptre of the Stuarts, and it overcame that sceptre. In my time the Reform Bill was carried by a majority of this house, despite the opposition of a majority of the House of Lords. I entreat this house well to weigh the consequences of a conflict with the press of this country. If the house embarks in that conflict—(here the speaker met with great interruption)—I have before said that, with the permission of the house, I would express my opinion as a private gentleman in a deliberative assembly, amid great public difficulties, and that I would warn the house of what occurred to me as dangers to be avoided. I say, sir, that if this house does give an order of secrecy, and if that order of secrecy is constantly and deliberately violated, you will be lowered in public estimation if you have not the courage and the constancy to give effect to your decision. But if you are going to enter into a conflict with the press of this country, you must gird up your loins and prepare for a serious struggle; and I warn you, that in that conflict you will not succeed unless you are backed by public opinion. My belief is, that if you engage in such a conflict, as matters now stand, you will not succeed. I will say more, that I think you ought not to succeed, because I believe that the public interests will not be promoted by your order of secrecy. Public opinion will be grossly violated by it, and justice to individuals will be placed in the utmost jeopardy." After a debate of some length, Mr. Roebuck yielded to the opinion of the house, and withdrew his motion.

We have alluded to the womanly interest which the queen took in the affairs of her troops, and the tender sympathy she expressed for their sufferings. It must have been gratifying to those brave fellows to

know, that if any act of her's could have alleviated the miseries they had undergone, that act would have been instantly and joyously performed. On Saturday morning, the 3rd of March, the queen, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred, paid a visit to the Fort Pitt and Brompton hospitals, at Chatham. The object of the royal family was to express their sympathy with the sick and wounded soldiers of the army of the East, who had been sent back to England and received into these establishments. To eulogise the generous motives which dictated such a visit, would be merely idle; they speak eloquently enough for themselves. Such a manifestation of her majesty's solicitude for the poor fellows who had shed their blood or lost their limbs in our battles on Russian soil, was natural and becoming; and while it evinced her truly womanly nature, also, for a moment at least, shed the lustre of royal favour over the obscure valour of the ranks.

The royal visitors, attended by the military authorities of Chatham, and the medical officers of the two hospitals, walked through all the wards, except those containing fever cases. To many of the wounded men who were well enough to be up, the queen addressed kind inquiries and words of pleasant encouragement. Considering the frightful ravages which war and sickness had made in the Crimea, the patients at Chatham were not numerous. Fort Pitt hospital contained only 197, and Brompton barracks but 164; the great majority of whom, in both cases, were convalescents. The poor fellows were delighted at the condescension of their sovereign, and, no doubt, none the less so when she directed an entertainment to be provided for them, as liberal in its character as the medical men considered could be allowed them without detriment to the treatment they were under.

Information was received from Sir Edmund Lyons, that the blockade in the Black Sea had been renewed from the 1st of February. The announcement in the *Gazette* stated:—"The mouth of the river Dniester, the ports of Akermann, Ovidiopol, Odessa, all the ports situated between Ochakov Point and Kinbourn Point, including the ports of Nicolaiew and Kherson, the rivers Boug and Dnieper; also the ports between Kinbourn Point and Cape Tarkan, including the ports in the Gulf of Perekop, the port of Sebastopol, the ports comprised

between Cape Aia and the Strait of Kertch, including those of Yalta, Aloushta, Soudak, Kaffa, or Theodosia; the port of Kertch, the Strait of Kertch, the entrance to, and all the ports in the Sea of Azoff, including especially the ports of Berdiensk, Taganrog, and Araba; the river Don, and also the ports of Anapa and Soudjak, were strictly blockaded by a competent force of the allied fleets of France and England." It was added that the ports of Eupatoria, Strelzka, Kamiesch, Kazatch, and Balaklava were, and would remain, open and free from all blockade until further notice. This latter arrangement was of course necessary for the convenience of the allies themselves.

The committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the British army before Sebastopol, commenced on the morning of Monday, the 5th of March, in room No. 17. In accordance with the feeling expressed by the house, the investigation was carried on in a perfectly public manner. The committee met at one o'clock, and consisted of Mr. Roebuck, the chairman; Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Bramston, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Ellice, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Sir James Pakington, General Peel, Lord Seymour, and Sir J. Hanmer. The space allotted to strangers was filled immediately the doors were opened. On the first day, Mr. G. Dundas, M.P., who during the past year had visited the Crimea in a non-official capacity, and General Sir De Lacy Evans, were examined. They bore testimony to the painful and neglected state of the troops, and to the mismanagement already described in our pages; but nothing was elicited which served to throw any new light on the subject.

The following day, the examination of General Evans was resumed. He attributed many deficiencies in the commissariat and other departments to a delusion that existed, to the effect that matters would be settled without any explosion of gunpowder, and that there was no necessity for any magazine at all. He said that when an army was formed, after forty years of peace, there were rather unreasonable expectations, on the part of the public, as to the officers of the staff. He expressed his conviction, that neither the deficiency in the supplies of clothes, food, or fuel, would have produced the sickness and death in the army, had not the troops been overworked in the trenches. It was the fatigue of the men that was so injurious. From the first, the work cut out

for them was entirely beyond their numerical strength. The overwork during the nights was decidedly the main cause of the sufferings of the army. Compared with other armies, he thought the provisions were not bad: they had some advantages not always possessed by armies before; but, with their full command of the sea, their supplies might have been unlimited.

Day after day the examination by the committee was continued, and many startling and painful incidents were disclosed; but few of them were of a nature to possess much permanent interest. Some brief passages, here and there, we will extract: to do more would be to risk becoming tedious, and to incur the certainty of needlessly shocking the feelings of the reader. The depositions of the witnesses were, for the most part, a melancholy, wailing commentary upon the want of forethought and arrangement which appeared to pervade every branch of our military service.

During the examination of Dr. Vaux, of the *Harbinger* steamer, on the 8th of March, he was asked by Mr. Roebuck if he had visited the cavalry camp? He replied, Yes: the horses were in a very bad condition; in appearance, only fit for the knacker's yard. That was in the latter part of November, or beginning of December. He believed the horses were not well fed: they were sent down to Balaklava to take up their own provender; they did not get anything otherwise: he had seen a sergeant open a truss of hay to feed them on the way up. The horses had no shelter; no clothing was served out to them. The officers took care of their horses; those of the soldiers were unsheltered, and merely tied to a picket-ropes: *he had seen them eating the earth beside them.* Of a load of vegetables the *Harbinger* brought out to check the scurvy amongst the men, he said,—the vegetables were landed on the shore, and a sentry placed over them; some were taken away, but nearly the whole cargo rotted on the beach. There was bread spoiling on the beach also.

The examination of Mr. Clay, on the 9th of March, elicited information which, perhaps, our readers will read with interest. Mr. Clay was the owner of three steamers—the *Emperor*, the *Cottingham*, and the *Alster*—taken up as transports by the government.

Chairman.—What was the state of the harbour?—It was in a most filthy condition.

The bodies of horses, camels, and sheep were floating in it.

Did you make any representation to the authorities?—No.

Was there any landing-place?—It was anything but a landing-place. It was made of a few bundles of hay to prevent people falling into the water. Corn and other stores were heaped up without any order at all. He was not in Balaklava during the storm of November; but he knew that in the storm many of the transports were much damaged.

Did you make any representation to Captain Christie of the danger of allowing the transports to anchor outside?—I did; but he is a rather reserved man, and he received the suggestion in silence. I stated that it would be better for the ships to stand out to sea.

Was there any hay floating in the harbour?—There was. He imagined it came in from the wrecks. His ship was consigned to the commissariat. She was in harbour several weeks before she could be unloaded. At that time she was loaded with planks to construct huts, brought from Sinope. The roads were in a most dreadful condition—up to the knees in mud. There were some conveyances—the long, low wagons of the country, drawn by six horses. They were horses of the government; they afterwards perished. He often visited the cavalry camp. The men were eating their food raw. He saw them doing it. The horses were in a very miserable state. They could not have made a charge. They did not seem to have a gallop in them. The Scots greys were particularly wretched. He never saw horses in such a state. In one brigade twenty-eight horses died in one night. The men were very ragged, badly shod, and dirty; they were very lousy—overrun with vermin.

What was their mental condition?—In spite of that, they seemed pretty jolly and full of pluck—as many as were left of them. The condition of the French troops was much better—quite a contrast to ours. He saw the English sick brought down on French mules at the latter end of December. In the French camp there were bands playing from morning till night. It had a very good effect on the French; it kept them quite lively and in good spirits. It had also a good effect on the English troops in the valley below. They were very much delighted with the French music. His ship

had not been employed to carry sick. He had heard of the state of the sick on board a ship called the *Monarchy*. He was told that twenty had died on board in one day, and that of some of the men who were frost-bitten the legs had dropped off and been thrown overboard. Witness was then examined as to the mode of coaling steamers at Constantinople, which he said was a very bad one indeed for the government. There were complaints of Admiral Boxer and his regulations from all the shipmasters; but the chief defect was in the system. The *Emperor* required 300 tons of coals, which at Malta would have been put on board in one day; at Constantinople they could not get more than thirty tons a-day put on board; as the ship was detained at an expense to the government of £100 a-day, it cost the government £1,000 in time for coaling the *Emperor* alone. He did not make any representations to Admiral Boxer; he was not the most agreeable man in the world to make any representations to. The light brigade, out of 250 horses, lost twenty-five from the bad manner of shipping them. Many representations had been made to the transport board as to the mode in which the horses were placed on board ship. By the mode adopted for the exporters from Hull, whence more horses are shipped than from any other port, the horses are placed on the ballast, where they can lie down as in the stable; in a gale of wind and rough weather at sea they generally lie down. In 1,000 horses shipped for St. Petersburg and Riga there was not a case of death. Generally, they arrived in as good condition as when they were shipped at Hull. In bad weather a horse may perhaps get unruly, but the groom has the means of hoisting him up by a strap when he is restive, which renders him impotent. He did not think they could carry so many horses by the Hull mode, but it was evident the great Yorkshire horse-dealers found an advantage in their method. The government horses are boxed up in a space of two feet three inches wide, and cannot lie down at all.

Then, if the voyage lasts six weeks, the horses are six weeks without lying down?—Of course.

Are they very much deteriorated in consequence?—Yes; when of 250 horses twenty-five die, it may be imagined those which survive are much deteriorated.

Mr. Layard.—How were the horses put on board at Woolwich?—They were walked

on board. The horses all belonged to Lord Raglan and his staff. The horse-boxes were fitted up by the Messrs. Wigram, and very substantially done—too much so. The boxes had a deal covering that rain could not pass through. He could not speak as to how the cavalry horses were sent out, and whether they had sufficient food.

Can you tell the committee at what rate your ships were taken up by the government?—The *Emperor* was chartered at £650 per week, the government finding fuel; the *Cottingham* at £2 5s. per ton a-month—she was about 550 tons; and the *Alster*, of about 100 tons, at £2 10s. per ton a-month. For all the steamers the government found the fuel. He paid his own insurances. He could not tell how much work they actually did, but they were so often detained idly waiting to discharge cargo, that they were not much occupied. At first the *Emperor* was almost constantly employed, being often ordered by Lord Raglan on special services. Those special services were from port to port in the East, fetching horses from Varna, and other purposes. Once he believed the *Emperor* was sent to Varna with an order for shipment of horses, but there was something not clear about it, and as the officer there could not understand it, the ship came back without the horses. Captain Christie lived on board the *Emperor* in Balaklava. The government paid £650 a-week for her, but she was never specially devoted to Captain Christie. When she was wanted for any purpose she was sent away. Captain Christie afterwards lived on board the *Harbinger*.

What was the state of the harbour. Was it well organised?—It was very disorganised.

That is, it was very badly organised?—It was. Captain Christie, who had the charge of the transports, appeared to him overborne with work. He had too much to do. A younger man would have suited the post better; though his next in command, Mr. Pritchard, was a very able and active man. When a vessel arrived it was reported to Captain Christie, and it then received orders as to entering and anchoring. The longest period any of his vessels were detained waiting for cargo did not exceed a month; the longest detention he recollected was a cargo of timber from Sinope. He was never in communication with Mr. Filder; he did not know him. He believed that many of the stores of his ships were received by the commissariat. The cattle

and sheep certainly were. Receipts were given for the stores. He thought there was at times a confusion between the commissariat and the transport department. Had he received an order from the commissariat, he could not have unloaded without another order from Captain Christie; he was the head of the transport service.

Could not the offal floating in the harbour have been easily removed by the contrivance called a rake, if the crews of the ships lying in the harbour had been employed?—Not easily. He thought it was inevitable at the moment. There were carcasses of oxen floating in the harbour; they might have been thrown over dead from the ships.

Mr. Ellice.—If compensation had been given to the crews of the ships, would they not have undertaken to remove those bodies?—Certainly.

For good pay would not the men and their officers have found the means of taking those things out to sea?—I think they might have done it.

Whose business was it to see that nothing was thrown into the harbour?—The harbourmaster's; he saw the bodies of sheep floating about. The offal in the harbour would be very likely to create disease. Had any proper system of organisation been adopted, many of the transports might have been usefully employed, instead of lying idle. If properly regulated, one-third less in number would have sufficed. Vessels never went out without orders from Captain Christie or special orders from Lord Raglan. The system that a mercantile firm would adopt was out of the question, because all the shipowners and masters were under the naval and transport regulations.

But had Captain Christie given regular orders, you could have executed them?—Certainly.

Then, organisation was not impossible?—No; but there was nothing like system employed; for instance, there were no bands of men organised for coaling at Constantinople. It was what was wanted. In Balaklava, the ship containing coals was brought alongside the steamer. The ships were moored athwart the harbour; vessels could have got out when they chose with a little trouble. No huts had been put up before he left. The houses in Balaklava were inhabited, many of them by sick Turks. He was not aware that any of the houses were appropriated to single officers. The large house marked as Lord Raglan's

only contained a few blacksmiths. The church was turned into a hospital. He saw no ill-treatment of the Turks, nor did he know how they were fed. They died rapidly, and he supposed they must have been badly fed. The cavalry horses were treated as well as they could be under the circumstances; those of the Scots grays were picketed in rows about three or four feet apart, with their heads tied down. Their manes and tails appeared to have been gnawed or eaten. The cavalry was not entirely dependent on England for food; ships were sometimes sent to the ports of the Black Sea for forage. There were depôts of coal at Constantinople, but not at Balaklava, except on board ship. There was not labour enough to form depôts on shore. But it might have been done by a judicious expenditure and organisation.

There was nothing inevitable in the confusion and disorder?—No.

Did you know Admiral Boxer?—Yes; he was a very intemperate old man, and used to give very strange orders. He had heard complaints of him from all the masters of ships he had met. He was removed from Constantinople to establish order at Balaklava.

Mr. Ellice.—If the authorities at Balaklava had sent for the captains of transports and furnished them with the means, could they not have cleared the harbour of the dead animals floating in it?—They could have cleared it in a week.

Might there not have been some regulations to prevent dead carcasses being thrown overboard from the ships?—There might.

Chairman.—You would not have dared to throw them over in the harbour of Hull?—No.

On the 12th of March, the Duke of Cambridge was examined before the committee. No new facts of interest concerning the expedition were elicited from his royal highness. He supported the statements that the sufferings and excessive mortality in our Crimean army had arisen from the overwork and exposure to which the men had been subjected. When asked if he was satisfied with the general staff, he spoke in the highest terms of that body; and amongst others, mentioned Colonel Brownrigg, whom his royal highness described as “an excellent officer.” On the same day, Colonel Wilson, of the Coldstream guards, gave the following startling information as to the

exhausting labour exacted from the soldiers:—“They were on duty three nights, and might be able to lie down part of the fourth. If they came off duty in the trenches at six in the morning, they might be able to lie down till ten; they would then be called on some working party. On that night, perhaps, they might lie down for a short period; but at four the next morning they would be called out to go on picket duty, and they were on that duty twenty-four hours at a time, including the march to and fro. Their food in the trenches was salt pork and rum. In the trenches the men had means of cooking. They generally contrived to cook their pork in their tents, and eat it cold in the trenches.” To the question, How many hours, on an average, had the soldiers to themselves out of the twenty-four?—Colonel Wilson replied, “*Not more than three.*” The men left behind in the tents, generally, by an agreement among themselves, had something ready-cooked when their comrades came in from the trenches.” He had heard that men had sometimes eaten their rations raw, but he had never seen them do it. They had no vegetables.

The following selections from Colonel Wilson’s evidence, also possess that painful interest which envelopes so much of the details of the war. He did not think the difference in weight between the English knapsack and the French was very much. The French soldier carried with him more essentials on a march than the English, as he carried part of his tent. He had seen the contents of a French knapsack; every article was lighter, which was the great thing in war. If tents could not be carried by the commissariat, it was better the men should carry them at all risks. In the Crimea he had to carry his own baggage. He suffered very much; at the end of a march he was too exhausted for any duty. One officer, Colonel Cox, died of exhaustion from carrying his baggage.

In answer to questions respecting the bands of the regiments, Colonel Wilson said, —They were employed to carry the wounded; he believed they landed with their instruments, but they were soon thrown away. The men were very fond of the French music. He had seen them throng round the French bands, and cheer when they finished playing.

Was there sufficient provision for the sick and wounded? The colonel thought not. He believed some of the wounded at

the battle of the Alma remained one night on the field, but not two.

In what state was the clothing of the men when you left?—It was becoming very bad; it was getting very thin. The men were dressed in all sorts of things, and one could hardly tell they were English soldiers. Very many of the men wore Russian trowsers. He had heard that some clothing for the army was lost in the *Prince*; but no new clothing of any kind had been distributed. The officers were as badly off as the men: from the 14th of September till the 26th of November he had never changed his clothes; there were many others in the same condition. He did not obtain his baggage till he arrived at Constantinople; he never took off his trowsers till he got on board ship; he had not a change of linen, nor had the men; he never heard there was any expectation of their getting any.

Have you been in the field hospitals?—Yes. The men were lying on the bare ground, and much crowded; he had heard them complain, but not frequently. Indeed, one remarkable thing with regard to the troops, was the rarity of complaints from them. He did not know which to praise most, their surpassing bravery in action, or, when under great suffering, their almost pious resignation. He attributed much of the disease to overwork and want of fresh meat. What the medical men called scorbutic diarrhœa, was brought on by want of vegetables.

On the 13th of March, Captain Kellock, late commander of the *Himalaya*, a noble transport screw-steamer, of 3,550 tons, and 750 horse-power, was examined. This vessel took the horses of the ambulance to the Crimea. She also took charcoal from Constantinople to Balaklava. There were about 650 sacks. It was much wanted by the army, and was pressed for the service of the government. When he arrived with it at Balaklava, it was not landed because Captain Christie (the head of the transport service) would not receive it, and he took it back to Constantinople again. He was extremely anxious about the charcoal, and offered Captain Christie, if he would receive it, to land it by his own boats, and with his own crew. It was not received, and he carried it back to Constantinople again. There he delivered it to Admiral Boxer, who sent lighters to land it.

To the inquiry, Did you make any repre-

sentations on the subject? Captain Kellock replied,—He reported the existence of great mismanagement to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; he was still in the pay of that company, and his crew also, he believed in consequence of an arrangement with the government. The letters of complaint were addressed to the secretary of the company; he had no copies of them. They had on board also some Moorsom shells, and engineering stores for the steamers of the fleet. Everything was landed except the charcoal. When he landed the horses, he was not aware of any stores of forage having been erected. He took convalescents from Scutari to the Crimea; they were still mostly very sick and ill; he remonstrated with Major Bunbury on the absurdity of taking such men to the Crimea again, and twenty-five of them were landed and sent back to the hospital. Dr. Hall was on board with these men as a passenger. The greater part of them were landed at Balaklava in the gun-vessel, the *Arrow*. He was not at Balaklava during the storm of November. The anchorage outside that port was exceedingly dangerous. He had spoken of the dangerous character of the place, but not in the way of remonstrance. Every sailor could see the objections to the place as an anchorage. In a south-west gale every ship must go on shore; a steamer might easily get off the coast. He had daily opportunities of examining the state of the harbour. It was in a very beastly condition, with offal floating about, thrown over from the ships. The burial-ground had become very offensive indeed; it was not 400 yards from the harbour. The graves were dug too shallow; he buried some of the sailors of the *Himalaya* there, and paid some soldiers half-a-crown each to dig the graves deeper. The offal floating in the harbour could easily have been removed. He would have made a requisition to the commander of one of the ships of war, and with a hundred men from her crew, he would have undertaken to clean out the harbour and the town in seven days.

From this day's proceedings, we also extract the examination of Sergeant Thomas Dawson, of the grenadier guards:—

Witness had lost his left arm at the battle of Inkermann. He stated he first joined the regiment in Aladyn, in Bulgaria, and went with it to the Crimea. It was encamped in tents at Aladyn; there were

upwards of a thousand men in the regiment. Disease had already broken out when he joined; two men who went out with him died two days after they landed. Round the camp was brushwood; there were fourteen or fifteen men in one tent; it was very hot in the tent during the day. They made a kind of shade of brushwood to lie under during the day, as it was cooler. The tents could be ventilated by turning up the bottom of them. They used to turn them up the first thing in the morning. The tents were very close indeed in the night. In wet weather, when the tent was closed it was often past bearing. Men became faint from the heat and closeness. They changed the place of the tent frequently, and changed the boughs and what they were lying on; but it was put up again on the same spot, unless the camp altered its position. It was difficult to get vegetables. Sometimes they had tea, and sometimes coffee. Tea was much the best; the coffee was green, and gave the men too much trouble to roast. They spoilt their tin kettles in doing so. They seldom got any porter, and not at all till they arrived at Galata. The bread at Varna was generally good; it was a little gritty, but wholesome; at times it turned sour if kept, but when fresh served it was pretty good. He could not tell how many men they lost. The Coldstreams lost as many as ten a-day at Varna. The men were in a very low state when they embarked for the Crimea. They could not march more than four or five miles a-day in coming down to Varna. The men then carried their knapsacks; those of the men who fell out of the march were put on the baggage waggons. The men recovered their health a great deal after they embarked; they were much better on the water than ashore. They landed in the Crimea in good spirits and in much better health. They did not have their knapsacks when they landed in the Crimea. They had their blanket rolled up, with a pair of boots and a change of linen inside. The men would rather have had their knapsacks. The blanket was not so easy to carry. With the knapsack a man could bring his elbow to the rear, and ease it up when it pressed hard, but with the blanket he could not. He did not know the weight of the French knapsack; he believed theirs was a great deal heavier than the French. He knew the French soldiers carried tents; he had heard the men speak very highly of them.

They had twenty-five camp kettles to every company. They carried them the best way they could; many of them were lost on the march; but the men retained their own small mess kettles. The men wounded at Alma were taken on board the ships the following morning. He crossed the field on the morning after, and saw no wounded there then. The sailors took them off to the ships. After they went up to the heights of Sebastopol, their commissary kept them pretty well supplied with provisions. The worst thing was the coffee. The men did not grumble so much about the provisions as about the green coffee. They had no tea after they left Balaklava for the heights. They had no means of cooking, except their own tin kettles. They gathered brushwood in front of the camp; there was plenty of it. After going to Sebastopol they did not get fresh meat more than three days a-week. They never had any cocoa; the men had complained of it. They liked tea better; it refreshed them more than coffee. In roasting the coffee it was often burnt to a cinder, which they had to grind up. They broke it up with the mallets they used to drive in the tent-pegs with. When on duty in the trenches a man did not get one whole night's rest in the week. The most rest they got was on the outlying picket. They used to cook their food and take it to the trenches with them, and perhaps the order would come before they got it cooked. He was wounded at Inkermann, and his arm was amputated the same evening. He was taken to Balaklava in one of the ambulance carts. They were very well on a smooth road, but in some places they suffered very much; he had to hold on by his right hand to keep his left shoulder from coming against the other side. He never saw the French wounded carried down, but had seen their mules; he thought they must be much easier to ride. After they landed, many men of weak constitutions suffered very much from sleeping on the ground.

Would it have been a great advantage to have small tents, as the French had?—It would. The men would not refuse to carry them; they would have been very glad to do so. He was sent to Scutari in the *Sydney* transport. He was well attended to on the voyage; he was twenty-seven days in the barrack hospital; he was also well treated in the hospital. He came home in the *Talavera*.

By General Peel.—The wounded men

were carried from the field by soldiers told off for that duty; they did not depend on the sailors for that; the sailors took them from the shore to the ships.

By Mr. Layard.—There was a large hospital tent for the operations, with circular tents round it, where the men were placed afterwards. In the tents they lay on boards six or seven inches from the ground. His wound was from a musket-ball that broke the bone of the arm.

What was the cause of the men's illness on the march?—Many of the men were weak from diarrhœa, and the stock was too tight.

How do you like the bearskin cap?—Not at all, it is too heavy. On a march the men always take them off and carry them on their bayonets, and put on their foraging caps. This cap (touching it) is very well adapted to the service. He had heard it had been changed. He had only seen the new one at home. The new one might be the best for home service.

In what state was the clothing of the men when you left?—Very bad, it was getting very ragged.

You worked in the trenches?—Yes. Did you hear any complaints of the tools?—Yes, often; the tools we had were very bad indeed. The bills would not cut a piece of wood; pieces chipped out of the edges an inch long. The pickaxes were generally bad; they were always coming off the handles, if they did not break. The shovels were worse than the picks.

How did the men like the Minié rifle?—Very well; only when engaged there is no time to fix the slides, and the men have to judge the sight by their own eye.

The evidence of that philanthropic gentleman, Mr. Augustus Stafford, M.P., respecting the hospitals and the treatment of the sick and wounded soldiers, abounded in facts, from the bare contemplation of which even the decent—not to say humane—mind recoiled in horror and disgust. At the same time, according to Mr. Stafford, such was the dreadful condition of the soldiers in the camp, that his wonder on seeing them was, not that the hospitals at Scutari were full, but that the camp was not completely empty. Much of Mr. Stafford's evidence was of too painful and revolting a character to be transmitted to these pages; but something of the confusion reigning in the hospitals at Scutari may be understood from the following passage:—What Miss Nightin-

gale supplied was not so much medicines as medical comforts; but it was impossible not to see that it was these, rather than medicines, the men most wanted. They landed in a state of exhaustion; let it be called by any medical name whatever, it was chiefly exhaustion—a flickering of the lamp of life; for men in this state, these medical comforts were what was most needed. There was one case of a man dying from his diet having been changed. He had been put on a strengthening diet, and was recovering, when by a mistake it was changed to a lowering one, and he died in consequence. He was quite aware of the cause of his death, as he spoke of it; he said he supposed that in so great a crowd it could not be helped. Things were in a state of utter confusion. When he left the beds were not numbered; any registry in the hospitals must have been very difficult to keep correctly. He knew one case of a false return. He had with him the letter of a soldier which was brought to him by the permission of his commanding officer, in which the man stated he had been returned as dead, and the report had reached his family at home; he wished to contradict it, and, for better security, his officer had allowed him to bring witness the letter of contradiction himself.

On the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of April, the Duke of Newcastle was examined before the committee. This weary three days' questioning ended without leading to any discovery of the hidden sources of mismanagement. "The Duke of Newcastle," said the *Times*, "doubtless did his best; but he was always seeing obstacles which he was unable to remove, and attempting in vain to produce directness and unity of action amid warring departments and complicated forms. He suggested remedies, overruled forms, and did some things on his own personal responsibility. But, somehow or other, his well-intended measures fell wide of the mark, or short of it, like old Priam's javelin."

Sir John Burgoyne, who, while he was in the Crimea, had been the principal director of the siege operations, was examined on the 1st of May. He said that with respect to the formation of a road from Balaklava to the camp, that the English force was too small to construct one. He allowed it would have been better to have had a good road, but said they had not men sufficient to work in the trenches; and added, that if

the men had been withdrawn from them for the purpose of making a road, the enemy would have advanced upon the trenches and the rear, and the army could hardly have kept its camp. He considered many complaints were exaggerations, but said that all our institutions for the field were extremely inefficient.

Mr. Sidney Herbert, the late secretary at war, was examined on the 9th of May; Vice-admiral J. W. Dundas on the 10th; Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, on the 11th; and Sir James Graham, late first lord of the admiralty, on the 14th. The following day the Earl of Aberdeen was questioned by the committee, and with his examination their inquiries closed.

On the 18th of June, Mr. Roebuck presented the report of the committee to the House of Commons, and it was read to the members by Sir Denis Le Marchant. As it is an historical document which gives as much light as can readily be thrown upon the miscarriages in connexion with the gigantic war, and as it will be referred to by political writers for many years to come, as an enduring monument in commemoration of the evils arising from aristocratic mismanagement and a system of blind, unreasoning routine, we shall give such an account of it, accompanied by brief extracts, as will render its nature clear to the reader; the report being, as a whole, far too bulky for insertion in a work of this kind.

Having referred to the complicated nature of the inquiry, to the variety of subjects investigated, the number of witnesses examined, and the frequent inconsistency of their evidence, which threw difficulties in the way of presenting a clear, definite, and just exposition of the subjects presented to the committee, the report laid down the opinions that body had arrived at. First, on the condition of the army before Sebastopol; and, secondly, on the conduct of the departments, both at home and abroad, whose duty it was to minister to the wants of that army. The reader of this work is but too well aware of what the condition of our army was, for it to be requisite here to repeat the dreary list of frightful miseries that assailed it. Granting that much suffering was necessarily unavoidable, the committee expressed their opinion that the amount of it was mainly to be attributed to dilatory and insufficient arrangements for the supply of the army with the necessaries

indispensable to its healthy and effective condition. The imperativeness, or otherwise, of the fatal amount of overwork to which the troops were subjected, the committee regarded as a matter beyond the limit of their inquiry.

The second division of the subject was treated at great length, and under no less than seventeen headings. The first of these related to the conduct of the government at home, upon which the responsibility of the expedition to the Crimea rested. It pointed out that the government gave orders for the expedition without having obtained the requisite information concerning the harbours, roads, and water-supply of the Crimea; or of, what was most important, a statement of the force by which it was defended. One estimate it obtained set down the Russian forces in the Crimea as but 30,000 men; while another estimated them at 120,000. Our ambassadors at St. Petersburg or Constantinople, had been unable to furnish any information upon these important points. The report considered that the members of the cabinet had not given that earnest attention to the war that so great a proceeding required, and that evils resulting from delay were justly laid to their charge. This heading concluded with remarking—"Your committee must express their regret that the formation of a large reserve at home, and also in the proximity of the seat of war, was not considered at a much earlier period, and that the government, well knowing the limited numbers of the British army, the nature of the climate in the East, as well as the power we were about to encounter, did not, at the commencement of the war, take means to augment the ranks of the army beyond the ordinary recruiting; and also that earlier steps were not taken to render the militia available, both for the purpose of obtaining supplies of men, and also, in case of necessity, for the relief of regiments of the line stationed in garrisons in the Mediterranean—measures which they found themselves compelled to adopt at a later period."

The report gave the Duke of Newcastle credit for the best of intentions, and even put forward some apologies for the difficulties of his position; but it inferred that he was unequal to the onerous duties assigned to him. "The duke," it says, "was imperfectly acquainted with the best mode of exercising his authority over the subordinate departments, and these departments

were not officially informed of their relative position, or of their new duties towards the minister for war. His interference was sought for in matters of detail wherein his time should not have been occupied, and he was left unacquainted with transactions of which he should have received official cognizance. Feeling his large responsibilities, he took upon himself to remedy innumerable deficiencies which were brought to his notice; and, in the meantime, matters of paramount importance were postponed. The evidence, moreover, shows that the duke was long left in ignorance, or was misinformed respecting the progress, of affairs in the East. He was not, until a late period, made acquainted with the state of the hospitals at Scutari, and the horrible mode in which the sick and wounded were conveyed from Balaklava to the Bosphorus. Lord Aberdeen has significantly observed, that the government were left in ignorance longer than they ought to have been of the real state of matters in the East. The ministers, he says, were informed of the condition of the army from public papers and private sources long before they heard it officially; and, not hearing it officially, they discredited the rumours around them. Thus, while the whole country was dismayed by reports, and was eagerly looking for some gleam of official intelligence, the cabinet, according to the statement of ministers, was in darkness."

Of Mr. Sidney Herbert, the late secretary of war, the report expressed itself to the effect that, although very well-intentioned, he was more busy than useful. It employed more courtly circumlocution to express this than we have done; but we content ourselves with the sense of its language. The ordnance department was described as working improperly on account of the absence of Lord Raglan, the master-general, whose duties were imperfectly attended to by a substitute. The consequence was, that a struggle for authority arose between the members of the board, and they were quarrelling with each other and making trivial appeals to the Duke of Newcastle, when they ought to have been engaged in attending to the business of the country. The report speaks severely of the disordered condition of this department, and observes—"The supply of inferior tools must be ascribed to *carelessness or dishonesty* on the part of the persons responsible for the supply."

With respect to the transport department at home, the report observes—"The unnecessary sufferings of the soldiers, directly referrible to this neglect, form one of the most painful portions of the evidence; but on what department the blame should rest,—whether on the office of the commander-in-chief, or of the secretary at war, or of the secretary of state for war,—your committee are unable to decide." In the same way, no one seems to have been able to say who was responsible for the management of the transport service in the Black Sea. Sir James Graham said that Admiral Dundas was; but the admiral declared that he had nothing to do with the transports, but that they were under the management of Lord Raglan, Rear-admiral Boxer, and Captain Christie. If these gentlemen could have been examined, it is probable that they also would have repudiated all responsibility for the Black Sea transports. One of the sad results of this want of responsibility, and, consequently, of proper management, was the wreck and loss of so many valuable ships during the dreadful storm of the 14th of November. It was ascertained that the transport service in the Bosphorus was under the orders of Rear-admiral Boxer, who, although his rough manners had caused him to be harshly spoken of, had endeavoured efficiently to discharge his duty, which he was prevented from doing by the inattention of Sir James Graham, then first lord of the admiralty.

Of the commissariat, the report observed—"The military system in this country affords the commissariat no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the army, or of ministering to its wants; so that in a campaign, the officers in this department find themselves called upon to furnish supplies in regard to which they have had no experience; while the officers and men, being often ignorant of the proper duties of the commissariat, consider this department responsible for everything they may require." The land transport service was condemned in severe terms by the committee; and with regard to a road from Balaklava to the camp, they stated there had been a want of due foresight and decision. They observed, that the consequences resulting from the failure of the transport service, would have been in some degree obviated by the formation of *depôts* in the neighbourhood of the camp, or between the camp and Balaklava. Some attempt to do this was

made, but not persevered in; one reason for its abandonment being, that after the battle of Inkermann, and the storm of the 14th of November, all the available animals were employed for the daily requirements of the army.

The mode in which the soldiers were supplied with food was censured, and the explanations of irregularities in this respect declared to be unsatisfactory. The circumstance of distributing green coffee to the soldiers, who were unprovided with any means of roasting or grinding it, was dwelt upon. "The more immediate comfort of the troops," said the report, "appears to have been overlooked; while ingenious arguments on the volatile aroma of the berry, and on the Turkish mode of packing coffee, were passing backwards and forwards between Commissary-general Filder and the treasury." As the men were so neglected, it can scarcely be supposed that the horses were properly attended to. When the army first encamped before Sebastopol, stacks of forage were found in the neighbourhood; when these were consumed, the horses were soon in want: after the hurricane the supply of forage failed; and, under the combined effects of work, exposure, and insufficient food, the cavalry gradually ceased to exist as an effective force. In this matter, also, the committee were in doubt as to whom they ought to lay the blame.

With respect to the medical department at home, Dr. Smith, the director-general, said, that he was under the immediate authority of five different superiors—the commander-in-chief, the secretary of state for war, the secretary at war, the master-general of the ordnance, and the board of ordnance. Under such circumstances, it excites no wonder to find that he did not properly understand or discharge the duties appertaining to his office. In this department, as in most others, the inexperience arising from many years of peace, proved a serious obstacle to its efficiency in a time of war. Dr. Smith was animated by a desire to discharge his duty, but on many points he suggested and remonstrated in vain. Before the fearful calamities arising from official negligence fell upon the army like a curse and a plague, a zealous officer seems to have been regarded as a rather troublesome person. The report observes—"The strict economy enforced, during a long period of peace, by means of a rigid system of audit and account, may, doubtless, at the first

outbreak of war, have still fettered Dr. Smith, as well as other public servants, who dreaded to incur responsibility for any expenditure, however urgent, which was not guarded by all the forms and documents usually required. An excess of caution, in the first instance, led probably to some evils which a lavish outlay could not afterwards repair."

The committee referred mournfully to the medical department in the East, and declared it to be so wretched and painful a subject, that they gladly avoided repeating its deplorable details. They observed—"The medical men, it is said, were indefatigable in their attention; but so great was the want of the commonest necessities, even of bedding, as well as of medicines and medical comforts, that they sorrowfully admitted their services to be of little avail."

The state of the hospitals at Scutari—one of the darkest spots in this perplexed career of mismanagement—the committee considered last in their report. Of these hospitals Major Sillery was military commandant; while Dr. Menzies, with Dr. M'Gregor under his orders, was medical superintendent. Major Sillery was totally incompetent to the discharge of the onerous duties devolving upon him, and ridiculously timid of incurring any responsibility. Dr. Menzies seems to have been impressed with old-fashioned notions of routine, and to have been, moreover, somewhat deficient in natural kindness to the hosts of sufferers under his charge. The committee censured him for not correctly reporting the circumstances of the hospital, and stating that *he wanted nothing in the shape of stores or medical comforts, at the time when his patients were destitute of the commonest necessities*. They modified this censure by adding—"In justice to Dr. Menzies, it must be admitted, that he was engaged in incessant and onerous duties. He was consulted in all difficult surgical cases; he performed the most serious operations himself. His time was occupied in invaliding men, holding boards, making monthly returns and quarterly returns, daily reports and weekly reports—reports to Dr. Smith, who could not interfere—reports to the Duke of Newcastle, who was never informed of the real state of things. Amid all these labours, he had no time left for that which should have been his principal duty, the proper superintendence of these hospitals. Dr. Menzies states, 'that he was overwhelmed by the work of three deputy-

inspectors when he gave up his charge; his health being then broken down.' This statement is confirmed by Dr. Dumbreck, who, having heard Dr. Menzies' evidence, says, 'the clashing of responsibility and confusion that existed in the administration of the hospitals, was not creditable to our system; we seem to have fallen into a state of inaction; we had no purveyors, no orderlies, no hospital corps. Dr. Menzies I believe to have been clearly overworked, and put in a position that no one man was able to cope with.'"

In connexion with this point, the committee further expressed themselves totally at a loss to comprehend the report of Dr. Hall, which they considered to have misled both Lord Raglan and the government at home, and to have occasioned much delay in measures taken afterwards for the remedy of evils which might have been arrested earlier in their progress. The committee referred to the selection of an improper person as purveyor, and to the retaining him in office after he had been pronounced unfit to discharge its duties. They severely condemned the state of the apothecary's department at Scutari, of which no account whatever seems to have been kept; at any rate, no entry was made in the books by the officer in charge of that department from the 24th of September to the 28th of November. "Your committee," continues the report, "are not aware under what instructions he was acting; but the late secretary at war admits that such conduct was a gross dereliction of duty. It is, moreover, manifest that the government had been deceived in regard to these hospital stores, since Mr. S. Herbert had stated in the House of Commons, 'there had been all manner of forms to be gone through before these stores could be issued; with plenty of materials, the forms were so cumbrous, that they could never be produced with the rapidity necessary for the purposes of a military hospital.' *It is now proved, that if there were cumbrous forms inconveniencing the service of the hospital, and aggravating the sufferings of the patients, there were, at least, no forms to protect the public purse against negligence or peculation.* The distress in these hospitals would have been more severe, and the sufferings more acute, if private charity had not stepped in to redress the evils of official mismanagement. Assistance which had been discouraged as superfluous, was eventually found to be essential for the

lives of the patients. When the quantities of hospital stores which were sent from England are contrasted with the scarcity, or rather the absolute dearth of them, at Scutari, and when the state of the purveyor's accounts is remembered, *it is impossible not to harbour a suspicion that some dishonesty has been practised in regard to these stores.*"

The report terminated with the following observations:—"Your committee, in conclusion, cannot but remark, that the first real improvements in the lamentable condition of the hospitals at Scutari, are to be attributed to *private suggestions, private exertions, and private benevolence.* A fund, raised by public subscription, was administered by the proprietors of the *Times* newspaper, through Mr. Macdonald, an intelligent and zealous agent. At the suggestion of the secretary at war, Miss Nightingale, with admirable devotion, organised a band of nurses, and undertook the care of the sick and wounded. The Hon. Jocelyn Percy, the Hon. and Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and Mr. Augustus Stafford, after a personal inspection of the hospitals, furnished valuable reports and suggestions to the government. By these means much suffering was alleviated, the spirits of the men were raised, and many lives were saved. Your committee have now adverted to the chief points contained in the replies to above TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND QUESTIONS, and, in noticing these various subjects, they have divided them under distinct heads, in order fairly to apportion the responsibility. Your committee report, that the sufferings of the army mainly resulted from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition, had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and, as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience, under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon their

country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report, with a hope that every British army may in future display the

valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

CHAPTER VI.

ENGAGEMENT IN FRONT OF THE MALAKHOFF TOWER; EXERTIONS OF THE RUSSIANS; EARTHQUAKES AT BROUSSA AND AT CONSTANTINOPLE; ERECTION OF THE MAMELON; REPULSE OF THE FRENCH FROM THE RIFLE PITS; ENGAGEMENT ON THE 22ND OF MARCH; THE VIENNA CONGRESS; SPRING IN THE CAMP AT SEBASTOPOL; SAILING OF THE BRITISH FLEET TO THE BALTIC; ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRAINING CAMP AT ALDERSHOTT-HEATH; VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH TO THE ENGLISH COURT; REFLECTIONS ON THE EMPEROR'S RECEPTION; RETURN OF NAPOLEON; PIANORI'S ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE HIM.

LET us return to the Crimea—to the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and take up for a brief period the thread of our narrative in that locality. The French lines were being pushed gradually nearer and nearer to the Malakhoff Tower, to the very foot of which they hoped soon to approach. On the other hand, the Russians, with their usual untiring activity, had thrown up considerable works behind the tower, and commenced demolishing it to allow full play to their batteries. Nor did they stop there; but on the night of the 21st of February, they intrenched themselves between the tower and a little to the French right. In that position they commenced important works of counter-attack, to stop the advance of the French trenches.

General Canrobert immediately resolved to destroy these works and carry the Russian position. On the night of the 23rd, two battalions of the 2nd Zouaves, one battalion of marines, and some companies of workmen, started under the command of General Monnet. The advance on the Russian position was made in profound silence. It was arranged that one battalion of Zouaves should take the right, the other the left of the attack, while the marines were to meet the enemy in front. On arriving near the redoubt thrown up by the Russians, the dim outline of a body of soldiers was discerned in front of it. General Monnet gave the signal of attack, and advanced. Instantly the Zouaves, with the daring impetuosity which is always characteristic of them, rushed upon the enemy, and were received with a murderous fire. They soon, however,

scaled the works and entered the redoubt by sheer fighting. There a sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict took place. The loss of life among the French was very severe; but the Russians were driven out, and compelled to take refuge in Sebastopol. Several Russian ships in port sent a shower of projectiles into the redoubt, and the nearest batteries opened their fire upon it. Still, in the midst of this deadly storm, the French knocked the works to pieces and spiked all the guns, before they were compelled to retire. The retreat was rendered doubly necessary; for by this time the whole garrison of Sebastopol was under arms, the drums and bells of the city were distinctly audible, and they could hear the word of command of the *avant garde* advancing against them.

This affair, dashing as it was, caused the French a heavy loss. They had accomplished their object, but at the price of about 100 killed and 300 wounded. Seven or eight officers were included amongst the slain, and about twenty amongst the wounded. General Monnet himself had the thumb of his right hand carried off, and was also wounded in his left hand and in the arm. Notwithstanding these injuries, he was the last man to leave the redoubt, after seeing all his wounded carried off. Prince Mentschikoff's despatch represented, that the French had been repulsed with a loss of 600 men. The French marines lost their way in the dark, and did not come up in time to take any part in the contest, much to the disgust of the brave Zouaves, who accused them of cowardice.

The Zouaves fancied not only that the

marines fled, but that in their confusion they fired upon them, their own countrymen. In their anger they were extremely complimentary to our poor fellows. "Ah!" exclaimed many of them, "if we had had a few hundred of your English, we should have done the trick; but these marines—bah!" It was suspected that the French plan of attack had been disclosed by spies, and that the Russians had prepared for it. Certainly the latter were not surprised, for they had a force of 10,000 strong to meet the French; who, together with the defaulting battalions of marine infantry (consisting of 2,300 men), did not amount to 4,500.

The French were unable to estimate the loss of the enemy; but a Russian account stated it to be sixty-five killed, and five subalterns and 236 wounded. The Russians claimed a victory in this encounter, as will be seen from the following extract from the *Journal de St. Petersburg*:—"Twice the enemy attempted to renew the attack, but each time was driven back with loss to the trenches. Finally, after an hour's combat at the point of the bayonet, during which the Russian drummers never ceased to beat the charge, the enemy was compelled to retreat, leaving in our power more than 100 killed, among whom were eight officers. Moreover, our troops took twenty-four prisoners, of whom five were officers. In all, the loss of the enemy was not under 600 men; for, during their retreat, they were exposed to the heavy fire of the neighbouring bastions, and of the steamers *Vladimir*, *Chorsonese*, and *Gromonosets*, anchored in the roadstead."

The activity of the Russians was incessant; they evidently feared an assault, and made every preparation to meet it. Not only did they throw up formidable works at various points, but Lord Raglan stated, in a despatch dated February 27th—"It appears that on Saturday night the enemy sunk three or four more ships in the harbour, as far within the booms as the first were outside of them; and, according to the most accurate examination yesterday, there are now four barriers or impediments to the entrance of the harbour—namely, two of sunken ships, and two booms." Even then the Russians did not seem satisfied of their security, for they were reported to have sunk two more ships at the entrance of the port of Sebastopol. To this circumstance Lord Raglan referred in another brief des-

patch, dated March 3rd, adding—"I am not certain of this; but, according to my observation, the new barrier across the harbour appeared yesterday evening to have been extended beyond the point at which I had seen it two days before." His lordship added further—"The enemy is busily occupied in establishing a work considerably nearer the French batteries on the extreme right, than that which was attacked by our allies on the morning of the 24th. The enemy seem to be increasing their force in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, both to the northward and upon the Tchernaya." Appearances were by no means cheering; but immense preparations were being carried on for recommencing the bombardment, on a scale hitherto unattempted. On the other hand, it was anticipated that the Russians were concentrating a force in their rear for the purpose of attacking Balaklava. "Both allies and Russians," wrote a correspondent from the camp, "are evidently straining every nerve for a final struggle. Every day, and all through the day, numbers of the enemy's troops are incessantly employed in their earthworks, and seem not only to be preparing measures for a vigorous defence, but actually for advancing, as if to besiege us in our own parallels."

It seemed, in the East, almost as if nature herself had some mystical sympathy with the convulsion which distracted mankind. The city of Broussa, in Asiatic Turkey, was visited by an alarming series of earthquake shocks, during the latter part of February and the commencement of March. With the first shock, on the 28th of February, the city was shaken to its foundations; and although it lasted less than a minute, nearly 300 of the inhabitants were buried beneath the ruins of a portion of the town. It was partly surrounded by an ancient wall, against which a large number of the poorer population had fixed their houses for the purpose of support and shelter. This wall at first swayed to and fro, and then a great part of it fell flat, crushing several score of houses, together with their miserable inmates. These habitations belonged chiefly to the poorer classes; for although there was scarcely an edifice in the city that did not sustain some injury, still the stronger houses of the wealthier inhabitants suffered but little comparatively. The mosques, however, on account of their heights, were much injured; out of 125, hardly one remained without damage, and scarcely a minaret was

left standing. One particularly, more than five centuries old, and the pride of the inhabitants, was levelled with the earth. A silk factory in the neighbourhood was thrown down into a heap, and sixty unhappy women who were at work there, were buried beneath the ruins.

The convulsion was not confined to Broussa. On the afternoon of the 28th of February, Constantinople was shaken by an earthquake, which, but for the brief time it lasted, might have been reckoned among the great calamities of the human race. The motion was described as a sharp, rapid trembling, which lasted about half a minute, and caused every pane of glass in the windows, and every tile on the housetops to rattle. It was succeeded by several minor shocks, each diminishing in violence, and happily causing no further mischief. No serious destruction of life or property was the result. A number of minarets, both at Constantinople and Pera were thrown down, and the bazaars were said to have been cracked in many places. The British embassy at Pera, one of the most solid edifices in the country, had a stack of massive chimneys overthrown, and the large square stones, of which the walls were constructed, were displaced in certain parts. Every bell in the palace rang violently; and even in one or two churches the bells resounded dismally. Some of the large stone houses at Pera were injured, and one of them had a crack from the roof to the foundation. Strange to say, the wooden edifices received no injury. Great excitement prevailed after the shock. Fathers, brothers, and husbands hastened home to see if their families were in safety. Many persons had recourse to prayers and supplications. Some of the Turks rushed out of their houses, and crouched down in the attitude of adoration; while the Christians exhibited their terror by crossings and pious ejaculations.

On the 11th of March, Broussa was visited by a shock far more destructive than that of the 28th of February. The greatest part of the city was levelled with the ground, and some of the finest monuments of Roman, Byzantine, and Mussulman art destroyed. Happily, in consequence of the precautions taken in case of a recurrence of the calamity, the loss of life was much smaller than might have been anticipated. Out of a population of 70,000 persons, not more than a hundred were killed or wounded. During the night of the 11th, at least forty

vibrations were felt; and they continued occasionally, though with less frequency, for several days. The effect of many of them was to throw down edifices which had been previously shaken, and the wretched population were compelled to seek safety in flight from the doomed city. On the particulars of this calamity being known at Constantinople, a steamer was sent to Guemlik (a town on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, and about twenty miles from Broussa), to bring away the fugitives who thronged that little port. An account of the appearance of Broussa, we take from the narrative of an English gentleman who went from Constantinople in this vessel. At Guemlik, he fell in with a well-known character in those parts, one John Zohrab, or Tehelebi John, who offered to conduct him and some friends to Broussa and to bring them back before sunset:—"Having with some difficulty found horses, we started, and on arriving at the summit of the line of hills which overlooks the glorious plain of Broussa, we could judge of the force of the convulsion. From that point there was not a bridge, a wall, or a house which had not more or less suffered. The road was thronged with fugitives—veiled Turkish women, carrying with them all their goods on the back of a miserable horse, to obtain which they had probably parted with a number of necessaries. The very poor, mostly Armenians and Jews, were on foot, bending under the weight of counterpanes and kettles, and dragging after them their weeping and footsore children, who would be a couple of days in making the weary journey of twenty miles, through the bush and quagmire, before they arrived at Guemlik. The most fortunate were the peasantry, who lived at a distance from narrow lanes and crumbling mosques. Most of these had their cottages destroyed, but they had quietly erected rude tents among the mulberry-trees, and were living as happily as if nothing had occurred. The lower classes in every country soon forget calamities; for they have been accustomed to so little material comfort, that nothing can make a change for the worse in their condition. On approaching the city, the results of the convulsion were visible on every side. The village of Tehefplik was in ruins, the houses seeming as if they had been crushed in by the fall of some enormous weight on their roofs. At last Broussa was plainly visible, its showy mosques and dark red

houses standing out against the green sides of Olympus, which towered up above with its crown of snow. Perhaps no more romantic spot can be found in the world than this, which has been the site of an imperial city for more than 2,000 years. The rapid torrent which passes through the midst of the city and across its plain is crossed by massive stone bridges, two of which date from Roman times. The most solid of these structures, a work of the early Cæsars, is now shattered and impassable. Huge masses of masonry have been hurled down into the stream beneath, and the solid arch is cleft in two. The greatest antiquarian loss which the place has suffered is, however, in the demolition of the great mosque, formerly the convent of the Virgin, an edifice erected shortly after the age of Justinian, and second to St. Sophia alone for vastness and beauty. The lofty dome is crushed; the mosaic work, fresh and beautiful as if not ten years old, is scattered over the pavement; the minarets—of course, a Mussulman addition—are broken short off at a third of their height from the ground; and the structure, which lately was filled with worshippers, is now deserted by all but the Turkish guard which is placed at the gate to prevent the depredations which often follow a general calamity. The tomb of Sultan Urchan, son of Othman, is also crushed. The monarch who made Broussa the capital of his warlike state, and who has rested peacefully in the grave for 500 years, now lies under the ruins of his ancient city. Whole quarters of the town are level with the ground, not a house remaining. Amid the ruins, miserable women may be seen tending their wounded relations, who lie under the shelter of a bit of carpet fastened to three upright posts, or of a few boards placed slantingly against some tottering wall. The Jews have suffered greatly. The citadel stands on the slope of the hill; beneath and around it cluster the dwellings of this peaceful and suffering race. At the moment of the shock, masses of wall were hurled down upon the small tenements below, and even portions of the solid rock came rolling down the mountain side like avalanches, and crushed everything in their way. The Jews, with their lofty headdresses, were to be seen sitting amid their fallen walls, destitute and desolate. Not even at such a moment does compassion subdue the dark aversion which separates this unhappy race from the people

among whom it lives. Who will care for a Jew? Not a piece of bread or a cup of water will Turk, Greek, or Armenian give to the expiring Hebrew, even at a time when the judgment of heaven has involved all in a common misfortune! The bounty of a government, and the subscriptions of individuals, would be equally kept back from the despised race, if the allotted funds were administered by pashas or bishops. From the European residents alone have the poor of all classes received help heretofore; and now the Europeans, even the consuls, have fled the place. It was reported in Constantinople that the springs had failed, and that want of water was to be added to the other horrors of the place. But the only foundation for this statement is, that the mineral waters, which form the chief attraction of Broussa to the stranger, are much diminished in quantity, and for a few days did not rise to the surface at all. Plenty of good water is to be had, as even the stream which flows through the city is fit to drink. The great want is of food: many of the ovens are destroyed, and bread is in consequence dear. The number of persons thrown out of work by the event is, of course, very large; but, happily, none of the silk factories have been injured, and in a few weeks, should no repetition of the shocks occur, the fugitives will take courage and venture back, work will be resumed, the city will once more rise from its foundations, and nothing but the ruins of a few vast edifices, which the present age cannot restore, will bear witness of the most fearful catastrophe which has befallen an eastern city for many hundred years. We returned to Guemlik by sunset, and found every nook and corner of the vessel crowded with human beings; as many as 470 of all ages and conditions had hurried on board, and they lay packed thick along the deck, and in all the cabins, so that to lie down was almost impossible. The Turkish boat had left full, and a British steamer was ready to start. The fugitives hoped that some of their number might be able to leave in this vessel; but it soon appeared that it had been dispatched to bring away 'the British residents,' who consist of the consul and his family. The answer of the captain to applications was, that no one could be received; and the steamer, sent down at a cost probably of £60, left with four persons on board—the consul, his two daughters, and a deputy-assistant postmaster from Constantinople, who happened

to be at Broussa on a pleasure excursion. We arrived this morning in the Golden Horn, when the unfortunates were allowed to land without going through any quarantine regulations."

"In the present temper of men's minds," said a writer from Constantinople, "there is a natural tendency to connect physical commotions with the political events which are passing around. It cannot be, therefore, wondered at that among the illiterate population of Constantinople, some superstitious awe should prevail, and that each race should interpret the ominous convulsion according to its own prepossessions. The poor (and, with the exception of a few individuals, the Turks are all poor) are tried by scarcity and disease, and weighed down by a feeling of impending calamity. They expect little advantage to themselves or their nation from the struggle which is proceeding. Even the Christians are weary of the contention to which they looked forward as the dawn of a brighter day. Many melancholy predictions have therefore been founded on the late occurrence, which is considered, if not a judgment, at least a warning."

The ground before Sebastopol, in the neighbourhood of the Malakhoff Tower, continued to be the scene of fierce skirmishes. To the right, but considerably in advance of it, is an elevated mound, on which the Russians occupied themselves every night in throwing up works which, from their position, would cause great annoyance to the besieging armies. To the left of this mound, afterwards called the Mamelon, they dug six rifle pits. These are excavations in the ground, faced round with sand-bags, which are loopholed for rifles, and banked round with the earth which has been thrown up from the pit. These pits contained about ten men each, and were, in fact, little forts or redoubts for offensive proceedings against the besiegers. The possession of them being of importance, the French, to whose extreme right front they were opposite, made several unsuccessful attempts to drive the Russians out of them. On Saturday evening, March 17th, the Zouaves advanced to take possession of the pits, from which the Russians had fled during the day, in consequence of receiving a fire from some of the English cannon. The Zouaves dashed on with their usual intrepidity; but they had been anticipated by the Russians, who had contrived to re-

turn and repossess themselves of the pits. A fierce encounter ensued, and volleys of musketry rang out incessantly for four hours and a-half. It might almost have been supposed that a general engagement was being carried on. The fourth division, under Sir John Campbell, and the light division, under Sir George Brown, turned out and stood in readiness to assist our allies, who, however, were determined on taking and holding these pits without aid. Such was the incessant flashing of musketry, that at first another Inkermann was expected. It is to be regretted that the bravery of the French did not meet the reward it deserved; for they at length retired without accomplishing their object, after having about 150 men killed and wounded, and a few taken prisoners. The day after this encounter, a large body of men, computed at about 15,000, entered Sebastopol from the north side.

A few days before this encounter, the irrepressible spirit of the allied armies was displayed by getting up races in the English camp, to beguile the tedium of this weary siege. "The course," said a spectator, "was laid out with much care on the heights, among the fourth division; and although the wind blew with intense coldness which nothing could withstand, yet some 300 or 400 horsemen mustered up sufficient courage to attend the 'meet.' French officers were there in all their glory, on long-maned, long-tailed horses, which would do nothing but canter and fret; and English officers were there too, on rough-coated, gaunt-looking quadrupeds—veterans which have survived not only the charge at Balaklava, but worse still, a winter in our camp. The jockeys, of course, were officer amateurs, some few of whom appeared in the prescribed breeches and tops, all of them laying foundations for subsequent catarrhs, as, wanting distinguishing colours, they were compelled to ride in their flannel shirts. At each start, the soldiers who lined the course shouted amazingly, and their vocal efforts did more to stimulate the nags into racing speed than all the efforts of their riders. Who were the winners it is impossible to say, as each decision was fiercely contested; and, according to individual rumours, every one who started a horse won the race. Two, however, were won beyond all dispute by a little midshipman from the naval brigade, of the name of Molyneux; and the hurdle race, the very last of the

day, and in which there were a couple of nasty jumps, by Captain Wilkins. The races lasted throughout the greater part of the day; and the garrison of Sebastopol, which was in full sight, was moved to unusual alertness by the shouting of the soldiers, and fired repeatedly, though without doing any damage of note."

Skirmishes before Sebastopol were of almost nightly occurrence; but a chronicle of these petty affairs would tend rather to bewilder than to enlighten the reader. On the night of the 22nd of March, however, a skirmish or engagement of more than ordinary severity took place. The accounts given of this affair are so confused, and of so technical a character, that we are unable to gather from them such a lucid statement as we should wish to present before our readers. The result, however, was thus described by Lord Raglan:—"Yesterday the whole of the ground between the posts of the two armies was covered with their dead, amounting to several hundreds, besides those which they had undoubtedly carried off before daylight." The French bore the brunt of this attack, though the English were partly engaged. The Russians were finally repulsed with great slaughter, but the loss of our gallant allies was considerable. It was reported to amount, in killed and wounded, to about 600 men, but was probably more correctly estimated by General Canrobert, at from 300 to 320. "This operation of the besieged," wrote that general, "differed completely from all those hitherto attempted against our works. To effect it, notwithstanding the strong force of the garrison, they had sent for two regiments from outside the walls. It was a sort of general attack upon our advances, and appears to have been well combined for obtaining an important result. The importance of this failure of the besieged must be estimated, therefore, by the greatness of the object they had in view. The prisoners we have taken declare that their losses were enormous; and we think, in fact, that this disorderly combat, as all night combats are, and where the firing lasted for many hours, must have cost the Russians, considering the masses they brought forward, 1,000 or

1,200 men at least *hors de combat*.* The loss of the English was not considerable; but it included Captain Vicars, Captain the Hon. Cavendish Browne, Lieutenant Jordan, and Lieutenant-colonel Kelly. Major Gordon, of the royal engineers, was severely wounded; and Captain Montague, of the same corps, was taken prisoner while superintending the works. Of the men, about fifty were killed, wounded, or carried into Sebastopol.

"Great valour and enterprise," said a morning paper, in commenting upon this incident, "have been shown on both sides; but it is impossible not to lament with more than ordinary regret the loss of men killed in a nocturnal affray, followed by no other consequence than the repulse of the enemy. We, the besiegers, are still endeavouring to prevent the approaches and resist the attacks of the besieged; and although every foot of ground is fiercely disputed, the lines of the enemy are gaining on our intrenchments, instead of our gaining on the out-works of the town."

On Saturday, the 24th of March, an armistice, of about three hours' duration, took place to allow, on both sides, of the burial of the dead. The incidents arising out of it are told by Mr. Russell with such pictorial skill, that we cannot resist quoting the description:—"Early on Saturday morning a flag of truce was sent in by the allies, with a proposition to the Russians for an armistice to bury the dead, which were lying in numbers—five or six Russians to every Frenchman and Englishman—in front of the Round Tower and Mamelon, and, after some delay, an answer in the affirmative was returned, and it was arranged that two hours should be granted for collecting and carrying away the dead on both sides. The news spread through the camps; and the races which the *chasseurs d'Afrique* had got up in excellent style, were much shorn of their attractions by the opportunity afforded to us of meeting our enemies on neutral ground. All the ravines leading to the front trenches were crowded with officers hastening on horse and foot down to the scene of so much hard fighting. The crests of the hills, and the slopes in front of the

of whom two were officers; and from the English fourteen prisoners, of whom two were officers; and we spiked three mortars. But this brilliant affair cost us dearly: in the sorties we had, in all, eight superior and subaltern officers, and 379 men killed; and twenty-one superior and subaltern officers, and 982 men wounded."

* An article in the *Invalides Russe* thus claims a victory, and states the Russian loss, which exceeded General Canrobert's estimate:—"Our enterprise was crowned with success on every point; the enemy was driven from the trenches, and all the works executed during the few previous days destroyed. We took from the French sixty-four prisoners,

batteries, were covered with men, and they dotted the deadly interval between the batteries, which had been before occupied alone by thousands of tons of shot and fragments of shell discharged by French and English and Russians during this protracted siege. The day was beautifully bright and warm. White flags waved gently in the faint spring breeze above the embrasures of our batteries, and from the Round Tower and Mamelon. Not a soul had been visible in front of the lines an instant before the emblems of peace were run up to the flagstaffs, and a sullen gun from the Mamelon and a burst of smoke from Gordon's batteries had but a short time previously heralded the armistice. The instant the flags were hoisted, friend and foe swarmed out of the embrasures. The riflemen of the allies and of the enemy rose from their lairs in the rifle pits, and sauntered towards each other to behold their grim handiwork. The whole of the space between the Russian lines and our own was filled with groups of unarmed soldiery. Passing down by the Middle Picket Ravine, which is now occupied by the French, and which runs down in front of the light division camp, I came out upon the advanced French trench, within a few hundred yards of the Mamelon. The sight was strange beyond description. French, English, and Russian officers were walking about saluting each other courteously as they passed, and occasionally entering into conversation, and a constant interchange of little civilities, such as offering and receiving cigar-lights, was going on in each little group. Some of the Russian officers were evidently men of high rank and breeding. Their polished manners contrasted remarkably with their plain, and rather coarse clothing. They wore, with few exceptions, the invariable long gray coat over their uniforms. The French officers were all *en grande tenue*, and offered a striking contrast to many of our own officers, who were dressed *à la Balaklava*, and wore uncouth headaddresses, catskin coats, and nondescript palcotots. Many of the Russians looked remarkably like English gentlemen in 'style' of face and bearing. One tall, fine-looking old man, with a long gray beard and strangely-shaped cap, was pointed out to us as hetman of the Cossacks in the Crimea, but it did not appear as if there were many men of very high military rank present. The Russians were rather grave and reserved, but they seemed to fraternize with the

French better than with ourselves, and the men certainly got on better with our allies than with the few privates of our own regiments who were down towards the front. But while all this civility was going on we were walking among the dead, over blood-stained ground, covered with evidences of recent fight. Broken muskets, bayonets, cartouch-boxes, caps, fragments of clothing, straps and belts, pieces of shell, little pools of clotted blood, shot—round and grape—shattered gabions and sand-bags, were visible around us on every side, and through the midst of the crowd stalked a solemn procession of soldiers bearing their departed comrades to their long home. I counted seventy-seven litters borne past me in fifteen minutes—each filled with a dead enemy. The contortions of the slain were horrible, and recalled the memories of the fields of Alma and Inkermann. Some few French were lying far in advance towards the Mamelon and Round Tower, among the gabions belonging to the French advanced trenches, which the Russians had broken down. They had evidently been slain in pursuit of the enemy. The Russians appeared to treat their dead with great respect. The soldiers I saw were white-faced and seemed ill fed, though many of them had powerful frames, square shoulders, and broad chests. All their dead who fell within and near our lines were stripped of boots and stockings. The cleanliness of their feet and, in most cases, of their coarse linen shirts was remarkable. Several sailors of the 'equipages' of the fleet of Sebastopol were killed in the attack. They were generally muscular, fine, stout fellows, with rough, soldierly faces. The Russians carried off all the dead which lay outside our lines to the town, passing down between the Mamelon and the Round Tower. In the midst of all this stern evidence of war a certain amount of lively conversation began to spring up, in which the Russian officers indulged in a little badinage. Some of them asked our officers 'when we were coming in to take the place?' others, 'when we thought of going away?' Some congratulated us upon the excellent opportunity we had of getting a good look at Sebastopol, as the chance of a nearer view, except on similar occasions, was not in their opinion very probable. One officer asked a private confidentially, in English, how many men we sent into the trenches? 'Begorra, only 7,000 a-night, and a wake covering party of 10,000,' was

the ready reply. The officer laughed and turned away. At one time a Russian with a litter stopped by a dead body, and put it into the litter. He looked round for a comrade to help him. A Zouave at once advanced with much grace and lifted it, to the infinite amusement of the bystanders; but the joke was not long-lived, as a Russian brusquely came up and helped to carry off his dead comrade. In the town we could see large bodies of soldiery in the streets, assembled at the corners and in the public places. Probably they were ordered out to make a show of their strength. The Russians denied that Prince Mentschikoff was dead,* but they admitted that Admiral Isturmin was killed. He was one of the principal officers engaged in the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope, and the czar had rewarded him by giving him an order of St. George of higher distinction than that worn by Prince Mentschikoff, and of a class which is generally accorded only to successful generals who have conducted an army and closed a triumphant campaign. A distinguished-looking man, who complained that he was likely to be deprived of his cruise in his yacht this year by the war, was pointed out to us as Prince Bariatinski. Owing to some misunderstanding or other, a little fusillade began among the riflemen on the left during the armistice, and disturbed our attention for a moment, but it was soon terminated. General Bosquet and several officers of rank of the allied army visited the trenches during the armistice, and staff officers were present on both sides to see that the men did not go out of bounds. The armistice was over about three o'clock. Scarcely had the white flag disappeared behind the parapet of the Mamelon, before a round shot from the sailors' battery went slap through one of the embrasures of the Russian work, and dashed up a great pillar of earth inside. The Russians at once replied, and the noise of cannon soon re-echoed through the ravines."

The Vienna congress for endeavouring to bring about a peace on the basis of the four points, was opened on Thursday, the 15th of March. At this congress all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Prussia, were represented. The diplomatists to whose hands the conduct of the conferences was intrusted, were—Count Buol, Baron Prokesch, the Earl of West-

moreland, Lord John Russell, Baron de Bourqueney, Arif Effendi, Prince Gortschakoff, and M. de Titoff. Great curiosity prevailed as to the proceedings of these diplomatists, but it was not speedily to be gratified, as extraordinary care was taken to keep them veiled in secrecy. Many anticipations were formed by sanguine persons that the conferences would result in producing peace; but these anticipations were not for a moment indulged in by us. It could not reasonably be supposed that Russia would be persuaded into an inglorious and humiliating abandonment of schemes on which all her statesmen seemed so resolutely, and, indeed, fanatically bent. Neither had the success of the allies in their warlike proceedings against Russia been at all of a character to entitle them to dictate terms to which she must inevitably submit. The struggle had been one in which all the belligerents had suffered severely, but in which neither side had been able to prevail. The varnish of diplomacy was scarcely likely to succeed where the roar of cannon and the clash of steel had failed. Beside that, our diplomatists scarcely seem to possess the sagacity or subtlety which characterised the statesmen of Russia.

Prussia, by her own vacillation, if, indeed, we should not say duplicity, was excluded from the peace conferences at Vienna. She claimed to send her representative to them, but this claim was resolutely opposed by the allied powers: for as she had declined entering into any engagement with them, it was impossible to know whether she would have attended in the character of a neutral, a friend, or a foe. On the 20th of March, the aged Lord Lyndhurst reviewed the proceedings of Prussia in the imperial house of parliament, and dealt out a sweeping and bitter reproof to the equivocating government of that country. A part of his speech on that occasion we will extract, as well deserving the attention of the historical reader:—"I earnestly hope and entreat, therefore, that the allied powers will adhere to the decision to which they have come, and not on any pretence whatever allow the Prussian negotiators to become parties to these negotiations. I am sure that if Prussia were to be admitted to these negotiations she would act in concert with Russia, as her ally, her instrument, nay, I might almost say, as her slave. I am sure

* An erroneous report to that effect had been extensively circulated.

of this—that she would contrive so to complicate the questions to be discussed as to render it impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion, and I shall indeed despair of any beneficial result if she be allowed to become a party to this conference. It is a singular thing in the history of nations, of some nations at least, that their diplomatic character and their foreign policy have a permanent form, surviving successive monarchs and successive administrations. The diplomatic character and the foreign policy of Russia may be traced back to the time of Peter, retaining the same form and the same character, and carried on upon the same principles now as then. In like manner, the diplomatic character and the foreign policy of Prussia may be traced back as far as Frederick the Great—I mean that Frederick whom the flattery of the French philosophers, in exchange for patronage, sometimes accorded and sometimes withheld, gratified with the title of ‘Great.’ Frederick the Great though he may be called, I hope posterity will never forget that he was the contriver, the originator, the instigator, and the active instrument of the partition of Poland—the most infamous political transaction of modern times. I can trace the foreign policy of Prussia from the reign of that monarch down to the present time, exhibiting ever the same features of weakness, vacillation, and unscrupulous selfishness. Though I could mention many instances, I will confine myself to those in which we ourselves have been concerned. As far back as the year 1794, it was considered to be of the utmost importance that we should be able to employ a large military force to act against France. Application was made to Prussia, and her answer was, that she was too poor, that she had no means of raising such a force. The ancestor of the noble earl who sits below me (the Earl of Malmesbury) conducted the negotiation, and he stated to the Prussian government that England was ready to furnish the means upon one condition, and one condition only—that the army should operate upon such points as the English government should point out. This was the very essence of the treaty; it was consented to by the Prussian government, and the money was paid into the Prussian treasury. The soldiers were then raised, they were marched to the Rhine, and there they were detained, and there remained for pur-

poses peculiarly Prussian. Notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the noble earl to whom I have referred, addressed to the king personally, to the prime minister, and to the commander of the troops, they refused to stir from that position, and the object of the treaty was entirely sacrificed. I would suggest to your lordships that you should read the correspondence of the noble earl who conducted these negotiations, where you will find the fullest details respecting this transaction. I have them summed up in a short letter which the noble earl wrote to the Duke of Portland at the time, in which he gave his opinion of the whole affair. I did intend to have read that letter to your lordships; but, upon consideration, I find its terms are so strong that, though it has been published, I really should hardly dare to submit it to this house. The next transaction to which I shall refer, is the conduct of Prussia immediately before the battle of Austerlitz. During the whole of the anxious period immediately preceding that battle, Prussia fluctuated between Alexander on the one side, and Napoleon on the other. She entered into treaties, sometimes with the one power and sometimes with the other; and if your lordships will read the correspondence between Napoleon and his brother, King Joseph, you will find there the contemptuous terms in which he speaks of the conduct of Prussia at that time. At length she decided to adopt that course of policy which she has been desirous of following upon this occasion. She attempted to put herself forward to act as a mediator between the contending parties; but when Count Haugwitz came to the French headquarters to carry on the negotiations as mediator in the quarrel, he did not find Napoleon in the place where he expected, but at Vienna, for the battle of Austerlitz had taken place in the meantime. And what was the conduct of Prussia then? She immediately abandoned her character of mediator; she entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French emperor, and accepted as a bribe for so doing, the cession of Hanover—a territory belonging to her friend and ally, England. The vacillation of Prussia at that period, professing one thing and doing another, playing the game of fast and loose, corresponds exactly in principle with the conduct which she has pursued throughout the whole of these negotiations. My lords, I have no faith in the Prussian government

as a government, and, if we were about to enter into an alliance with that power, I should be disposed to address these words of caution to my noble friend opposite—*‘Hunc tu Romane caveto.’*”

We will at once relate the result of these conferences. Things went on smoothly enough during the discussion of the first and second points; the Russian statesmen were willing to accede to them. But, as was correctly anticipated, the third point was the difficulty—the reduction of the preponderating power of Russia in the Black Sea. Certainly, unless that was accomplished, Turkey could not be considered safe from the aggressive spirit of her powerful neighbour. How was that limitation to be accomplished? England and France had been unable to reduce Sebastopol; and their diplomatists could not, therefore, ask Russia herself to destroy what they were unable to take from her. On the 19th of April, the plenipotentiaries of England, France, Austria, and Turkey, proposed to the representatives of Russia, as a mode of making the preponderance of that empire cease in the Black Sea, either that the amount of the Russian naval force there should be limited by treaty, or that the

Black Sea should be declared entirely neutral ground, and ships of war of all countries be excluded from it, so that in future it should be a sea for commerce only. The Russian plenipotentiary required forty-eight hours to take that proposal into consideration. When that period had elapsed, on Saturday, April 21st, another conference was held, at which the Russian plenipotentiary absolutely refused to accept either of the alternatives proposed. He stated, however, that he had propositions to make on the part of the Russian government; but these were found to be so unacceptable, that the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, and Great Britain, refused to consider them in detail. It was seen, then, what ought to have been seen at first,—that Russian obstinacy was not to be subdued by talking. Nothing more could be said; and as that was evident even to such slow and impenetrable people as diplomatists, the conference was adjourned *sine die*, and Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys left Vienna for their respective capitals. Again the question arose for solution—Would Austria draw the sword on behalf of the allies, or would she equivocate as hitherto? The latter seemed by far the most probable; for

* From a remarkable article in the *Moniteur*, presumed to have been written at the direction of the Emperor Napoleon, we extract the following observations with reference to these negotiations on the third point:—“As regards the third of those conditions—that which has for object to limit the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea—we have reserved it expressly as the most important and most contested, so as to explain it here, categorically. First of all, how must it be understood? Evidently anything equivocal on so grave a point cannot suit any one. The allied governments, who have a consciousness of the justice of their pretensions, have not feared defining them. Russia has turned the Black Sea into a Russian lake; she has gradually founded maritime establishments there of the first class; she has accumulated there, with as much perseverance as mystery, considerable naval forces, and it may be said that by that exclusive domination of the Black Sea she has placed Constantinople in a permanent state of siege. This state of things is not possible, because it is incompatible not only with the integrity of the Ottoman empire but with the security of the whole of Europe. France and England, in demanding Russia to limit her power in the Black Sea, or to neutralise that sea, are therefore completely in the right. If that result was not obtained by peace or by war, such a peace would be ephemeral and such a war useless; and, let it be well observed, this demand for the limitation of Russian power, or for the neutralisation of the Black Sea, does not respond only to Anglo-French interests, it responds also to the interests of Austria, for which the Danube, a commercial and military river, is a magnificent highway, open to her activity towards the Euxine and

Asia. An argument is brought against this pretension which we do not think serious; it is said to the allied powers, ‘You ask a concession from Russia, which at most might be the price of the surrender of Sebastopol, and that place is still held by the Russian army.’ Our reply is this:—‘The law of nations grants that a portion of what is obtained by war may be kept by peace. We have not yet taken Sebastopol, that is true; but what is Sebastopol at the present moment to Russia? It is no longer a naval port, as her fleet, sunk at the mouth of the harbour, or shut up behind that insurpassable barrier, is withdrawn from the struggle. The Black Sea is the battlefield which we have won—or, if they like it, which has been abandoned to us by the enemy. The Russian flag could not show itself there. Our ships and those of England and Turkey navigate it in every sense. Its domination has changed hands. It has gone from Sebastopol to Constantinople.’ Who compels us to give up this pledge? Is not such a situation the very best we could have? And not only do we occupy the Black Sea, but we besiege Sebastopol, we are fortified at Kamiesch and at Balaklava, Omar Pasha is entrenched at Eupatoria, Odessa is menaced by our fleets. What can Russia do? Could she suffer for any length of time without detriment to her moral strength and without ruin to her commerce the blockade which will shut her up in every part of the Black Sea and in the Baltic? Could she live in that paralysis which in her strikes the vital principle of nations—that is to say, movement, action, the right of exporting and exchanging her produce, and which would condemn her to isolation, sterility, impotency, in the immensity of her empire? To ask Russia to limit her naval forces, or to neu-

Count Buol expressly stated that he considered the means for obtaining peace were not wholly exhausted, and that it would be the special duty of Austria to endeavour to discover some mode of attaining that end consistently with the engagements she had entered into with the other powers.

As the spring advanced, the accounts from our camp before Sebastopol became of a more cheering character; that is, in reference to the condition of our troops, not as to the progress of the siege. The following account of the state of the camp we extract from a letter of Mr. Russell's, dated March 6th:—

"Everything round us bears marks of improvement. The health of the troops is better, mortality and sickness decrease, and the spirits of the men are good. The wreck we made of Balaklava is shovelled away or is in the course of removal, and is shot into the sea to form piers, or beaten down to make roads, and stores and barracks of wood are rising up in its place. The oldest inhabitant will not know the place on his return. If war is a great destroyer, it is also a great creator. The czar is indebted to it for a railway in the Crimea, and for new roads between Balaklava, Kamiesch, and Sebastopol. The hill-tops are adorned with clean wooden huts, the flats have been drained, the watercourses dammed up and deepened; and all this has been done in a few days, by the newly awakened energies of labour. The noise of hammer and anvil, and the roll of the railway train, are heard in these remote regions a century before their time. Can anything be more suggestive of county magistracy and poor-laws, and order and peace, than stonebreaking? Here it goes on daily, and parties of red-coated soldiery are to be seen contentedly hammering away at the limestone rock, satisfied with a few pence extra pay. Men are now given freely wherever there is work to be done. The policeman walks abroad in the streets of Balaklava. Colonel Harding, the new commandant, has exhibited great ability in the

improvement of the town, and he has means at his disposal which his predecessors could not obtain. Lord Raglan is out about the camps every day, and generals Estcourt and Airey are equally active. They all visit Balaklava, inspect the lines, ride along the works, and by their presence and directions infuse an amount of energy which will go far to make up for lost time, if not for lost lives. A sanatorium is being established on the heights for 400 patients. The filthy heaps accumulated by the wretched Turks, who perished in the fœtid lanes of Balaklava, and the masses of abomination unutterable which they left behind them, have been removed, and mixed with stones, lime, manure, and earth, to form piers, which are not so offensive as might be expected. The dead horses are being collected and buried beneath lime and earth. The railway extends its lines by night and by day. A little naval arsenal has grown up at the north side of the harbour, with shears, landing-wharf, and storehouses, and a branch line will be made from this spot to the trunk to the camp. In a fortnight more, it is hoped, the first engine will be at work, and it is lying all ready, with the tender and all the apparatus for pulling up the trucks beside it, at its allotted station. The harbour, crowded as it is, has assumed a certain appearance of order. The collections of rotten clothes and rags, the garments of the poor Turks, have been burnt. Cesspools have been cleared out, and the English Hercules has at last begun to stir up the heels of the oxen of Augæus. The whole of the Turks are removed to the hill-side, where they have encamped. Each day there is a diminution in the average amount of sickness, and a still greater decrease in the rates of mortality. A good sanitary officer, with an effective staff, might do much to avert the sickness which may be expected among the myriads of soldiers when the heats of spring begin. The thermometer has on an average been at 45° during the day for the last three days. To-

tralise the Black Sea—that is to say, to exclude therefrom all vessels of war of any nation whatsoever, is therefore to exact from her much less than what we have acquired by war, and which we could maintain without an effort. In fact, what does it require to prevent Russia from ever entering the Black Sea again? Four men-of-war of each of the maritime powers, France, England, and Turkey. Such a cruising squadron would suffice to occupy the Black Sea and to transplant its domination from the shores of the Crimea to the entrance of the Bosphorus.

What Russia has lost, what she cannot recover by war, no matter how long, is her preponderance over the East. What she may legitimately ask is a share of influence in the affairs of the world. She would find, if needs be, a coalition of all states to restrain her ambition; but no one wishes to humiliate her. What is asked from her Europe has the right, and it is its duty, to exact. If she grants it, the peace of the world is assured, the object of the allied powers attained. If she refuses, war will continue and decide it."

day it was at 52°. Fresh provisions are becoming abundant, and supplies of vegetables are to be had for the sick and scurvy-stricken. The siege-works are in a state of completion, and are admirably made. Those on which our troops are now engaged proceed uninterruptedly. A great quantity of mules and ponies, with a staff of drivers from all parts of the world, have been collected together, and lighten the toils of the troops and of the commissariat department. The public and private stores of warm clothing exceed the demand for it. The mortality among the horses has ceased, and, though the oxen and sheep sent over to the camps would not find much favour in Smithfield, they are very grateful to those who have had to feed so long on salt junk alone. The sick are nearly all hutted, and even some of the men in those camps which are nearest to Balaklava have been provided with similar comforts and accommodation. These are all cheering and delightful topics to dwell upon. How happy one is to communicate such most pleasing intelligence! As for the siege itself, there is reason to believe that, ere very long, we shall be in a position to commence hostilities with great effect. More it would be imprudent to say."

The merit of the change thus effected in our camp was claimed by the press, as resulting from its exposure of the mismanagement in connection with our army both at home and abroad. The English people had been aroused; obstructive officials knew that a national inquiry was at work, and they were thus alarmed into a sense of their duties. In a subsequent letter, Mr. Russell said:—"Mutton and beef are so abundant, that the men get fresh meat about three times a week. Some of the mutton, &c., brought to the Crimea ready killed, is excellent. Potatoes, cabbages, and carrots, are served out pretty frequently, as the cargoes arrive; and the patients in hospital are seldom or never left short of vegetables. Now let those who prate about the necessary and inevitable horrors of war—the very men, by-the-bye, who would not give a farthing, or take a step out of their way, to assuage the sufferings which, in their ignorance and conceit, they declare to be 'natural and unavoidable'—let these cruel wiseacres show, if they can, why all these necessities, and comforts, and luxuries, which have now been provided for the army, were not furnished to it when they were most needed.

If they say, this campaign was not expected to last so long, they confess to their own want of foresight, and plead guilty to the most culpable of all faults in war—the neglect of the lives and health of the soldiery who are to wage it. War is a great game of chance, if the players close their eyes, and trust all to the first die. It is a game of skill, in which the best man wins, when reason, and calculation, and genius—oh, for one little ray of *that* light divine among us!—rule the board; but to leave all 'to the fortune of war,' and rely on it to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, avert the storm, stay the career of time, and subvert the course and operations of the seasons, is the faith of men who could not be trusted to conduct a potato-stall without the certainty of incurring insolvency and ruin. All the materials we possess now were to be had for the moving there; and the thankfulness which the survivors feel for the use of them, is tinged with bitter regret that their departed comrades can never share the advantage of such comforts. As these neat white huts rise up in rows, one after another, the eye rests sadly on the rows of humble mounds which mark the resting-places of those who perished in their muddy blankets under the rotten and saturated tents."

The return of spring with its genial sunshine brought back something of cheerfulness among the men, and the pleasant sound of laughter, and even of snatches of familiar song, were heard in our camp. Still, though enormous efforts were being made for the recommencement of the siege, the impression began to gain ground, that while the Russians retained their fleet within Sebastopol, and their army without it, the place could not be taken by assault. It was believed that the golden opportunity had been permitted to pass without an effort to arrest it. Had the allies marched from the heights of Alma at once against Sebastopol, it is urged that the place must have fallen, almost without resistance. A Russian officer, who had been taken prisoner, declared that he could not account for our "infatuation," in allowing his countrymen to throw up works and regain heart, when we could have walked into the place, unless under the supposition that the hand of God was in it, and that He had blinded the vision and perverted the judgment of our generals. "And now," concluded the Russian, with the inherent superstition of his

nation, "He has saved Sebastopol, and we, with His help, will maintain it inviolate." It was, however, no small satisfaction to anxious Englishmen, that Lord Raglan and General Canrobert had under their command an army of about 100,000 men, inured to the hardships of actual service, and ready gallantly to execute any operation in which they might be engaged.

Enormous preparations had been made by the government for the prosecution of the war in the Baltic, and the following powerful fleet was collected at Portsmouth, to proceed to the northern sea as soon as the breaking up of the ice permitted the renewal of navigation:—

Line-of-battle Ships Frigates, &c.	Captains, Lieutenants, and Commanders.	Guns	Horse Power
Duke of Wellington ¹	Captain Caldwell . . .	131	700
Exmouth ²	Captain W. K. Hall . .	91	400
Retribution ³	Captain Fisher . . .	28	400
Royal George . . .	Capt. Codrington, C.B.	102	400
James Watt . . .	Captain George Elliot .	91	600
Orion . . .	Captain Erskine . . .	91	600
Cæsar . . .	Captain Robb . . .	91	400
Nile . . .	Captain Mundy . . .	91	500
Majestic . . .	Captain Hope . . .	81	400
Cressy . . .	Captain Warren . . .	81	400
Colossus . . .	Captain Robinson . . .	81	400
Sanspareil . . .	Captain Williams . . .	70	350
Blenheim . . .	Captain W. H. Hall . .	60	450
Hogue . . .	Captain W. Ramsey . .	60	450
Ajax . . .	Captain Warden . . .	60	400
Hastings . . .	Captain Caffiu . . .	60	200
Pembroke . . .	Captain Seymour . . .	60	200
Cornwallis . . .	Captain Wellesley . .	60	200
Hawke . . .	Captain Ommanney . .	60	200
Russell . . .	Captain F. Scott . . .	60	200
Edinburgh . . .	Captain Hewlett . . .	58	450
Imperieuse . . .	Captain Watson, C.B. .	51	360
Euryalus . . .	Captain Ramsey . . .	51	400
Arrogant . . .	Captain Yelverton . .	46	360
Amphion . . .	Captain A. C. Key . .	34	300
Horatio . . .	Capt. Hon. A. Cochrane .	24	250
Malacca . . .	Captain Farquhar . .	17	200
Cossack . . .	Captain Fausshawe . .	20	250
Tartar . . .	Captain Dunlop . . .	20	250
Pylades . . .	Captain D'Eyneourt . .	20	250
Esk . . .	Captain Birch . . .	20	250
Archer . . .	Captain Heatheote . .	15	200
Magicienne . . .	Captain Vansittart . .	16	400
Odin . . .	Captain Wilcox . . .	16	560
Vulture . . .	Captain Glasse . . .	6	470
Centaur . . .	Captain Clifford . . .	6	540
Dragon . . .	Captain H. Stewart . .	6	560
Bulldog . . .	Commander A. Gordon .	6	500
Lightning . . .	Lieutenant Campbell .	3	100
Desperate . . .	Commander White . . .	8	400
Conflict . . .	Commander Brown . . .	8	400
Cruiser . . .	Com. Hon. G. Douglas .	15	60
Harrier . . .	Commander Story . . .	15	160
Falcon . . .	Commander Pullen . . .	15	100
Ariel . . .	Commander Luce . . .	9	60
Basilisk . . .	Commander Jenner . .	6	400
Rosamond . . .	Commander Crofton . .	6	286
Driver . . .	Com. A. H. Gardner . .	6	280
Geyser . . .	Commander Dew . . .	6	280
Gorgon . . .	Commander Crawford .	6	320

¹ Flag of Rear-admiral the Hon. R. S. Dundas, C.B.; Captain of the Fleet, the Hon. F. T. Pelham.

² Flag of Rear-admiral Michael Seymour.

³ Flag of Rear-admiral R. L. Baynes.

FLOATING BATTERIES.

	Guns.		Guns.
Glutton	16	Thunder	16
Ætna	16	Trusty	16
Meteor	16		

MORTAR VESSELS.

Blazer . . 1	Hardy . . 1	Manly . . 1	Poreupine . 1
Firm . . 1	Havock . . 1	Mastiff . . 1	Surly . . 1

GUN-BOATS.

Guns.	Guns.	Guns.	Guns.
Gleaner 3	Biter . 2	Snap . 2	Hind . 2
Pelter . 3	Boxer . 2	Jackdaw 2	Starling 2
Ruby . 3	Clinker 2	Jasper . 2	Stork . 2
Pineher 3	Craeker 2	Jaek . 2	Twinger 2
Teazer . 3	Dapper 2	Magpie 2	Thistle 2
Badger . 3	Faney . 2	Redwing 2	Weasel 2
Snapper 3	Grinder 2	Skylark 2	Pigmy . 2

Bellisle—Hospital ship, Commander Hosken. Æolus—Shell magazine. Volage—Powder magazine.

This magnificent fleet was placed under the command of Rear-admiral Richard Dundas, who hoisted his flag on board the *Duke of Wellington*. Sir Charles Napier had been superseded because it was generally thought, both at the admiralty and throughout the country, that the expedition under his command had not accomplished by any means so much as it should have done. Sir Charles was much hurt at this, and made some intemperate speeches upon the subject; but he was no longer as he had been, the pet of the nation. Failure on the part of their naval or military officers, even though the end proposed should be impracticable, is what the English people are most apt to resent. Probably this feeling is universal; for when on some occasion it was remarked to that acute statesman Talleyrand, that some event was a crime, his characteristic reply was—"It is worse than a crime—it's a *blunder*." Whatever the world may say to the morality of this doctrine, it is certainly very extensively acted upon. On Wednesday, the 28th of March, the advanced squadron of the fleet, stationed at Deal, and consisting of the *Imperieuse*, *Euryalus*, *Arrogant*, *Cossack*, *Tartar*, *Conflict*, *Desperate*, *Esk*, and *Archer*, weighed anchor, and proceeded on their way to the Baltic.

The great bulk of the fleet sailed from Spithead on Wednesday, the 4th of April. "The Baltic fleet of this year," said the *Times*, "is, in all respects, much stronger than the last; it has more steam power, more guns, a new class of gun-boats and floating batteries, adapted for creeks and shoals; and, what more than anything

marks a resolution to do something, a new commander. Sir Charles Napier has ceased to command the Baltic fleet; not from any deficiency in skill, in courage, or temper, but simply because he did less than the British people expected to see done. We have ourselves been ever ready to do justice to his actual achievements, which are not to be denied or depreciated; but, when we send out the finest fleet in the world, we naturally expect it to do more than shut in a third-rate naval power, and assist an army to destroy an unfinished fort. The new commander, Admiral Dundas, has before him the services of Admiral Napier; and, whatever his instructions (if any), no doubt he knows that he has more to do than Admiral Napier. If he does not accomplish more, he will certainly find himself, next November, under orders to lower his flag, with small prospect of ever hoisting it again. Such is the mission of the fleet which the queen sends this day on its destructive errand. It is to attempt more, to run more risk, to follow further and closer, to care rather less for losing ships and men, and rather more for inflicting losses and disgraces on the enemy. In a word, the force is stronger and the duty more terrible than last year; and, if the scene to-day should attract a smaller crowd of gazers than last year, they will doubtless see it less as a holiday spectacle, and more as an operation of war."

It was affirmed that the Russians, to secure themselves from the English fleet, had closed up the approaches to Abo, Helsingfors, and every town on the coast from Wyborg up to Tornea, by sinking vessels in the sailing channel. It was added, that the inhabitants of Abo, Bjorneborg, and other towns, had formed themselves into sharpshooter corps, and armed themselves with double-barrelled rifles. A letter from Hamburg, at this period, stated—"It appears from all the communications received from St. Petersburg, that the Russian government is most anxious that the new army in Finland should be organised as speedily as possible; for all the regiments of which it is to be composed must have reached the respective quarters assigned to them before the 15th of May. I am assured that the road from St. Petersburg to Helsingfors, which is to be the head-quarters of the army, is literally covered with convoys carrying all sorts of war *matériel*. The Russian government wishes to be prepared, from the opening of

the campaign, to repel any attempt at landing that may be made by the allies. There is every reason to anticipate, should the war assume a decidedly serious character on that side, that it will be terrible. No less than 100,000 Russian combatants will be there assembled, under the command of one of the best generals of the imperial army, who has acquired, as chief of the artillery, a very great reputation. In order to overpower that army, with which two divisions of the imperial guard and three of their reserves have been incorporated, the allies must operate in Finland with a force at least equal in numbers to that of the enemy. Such are the military preparations making for the defence of Finland." It was also affirmed that the Russians had in the Baltic 300 gun-boats, completely armed and provisioned.

At this period an attempt was being made, in England, to remedy the great defects in our military organisation, which the progress of the war had revealed. It was the establishment of a camp (framed, to some extent, upon the model of the Belgian one at Beverloo) on Aldershott-heath. This place, which contains about 3,000 acres of waste land, covered with heath or broom, and sufficiently undulated in surface to give, at the more elevated points, a fine view of the surrounding country, was purchased by the government for the purpose of forming an experimental camp, even before events in the East had demonstrated, with such unmistakable clearness, the necessity which existed for something of the kind. The selection was regarded as a judicious one; for the heath afforded many facilities for the execution of military manœuvres on a tolerably extensive scale, had a good supply of water, and was esteemed healthy. On this spot it was proposed to concentrate 20,000 militiamen and 10,000 regular troops; the former to be huted, and the latter provided with permanent barracks. Parliament voted £100,000 for the land, and £250,000 for the barracks; besides that, it was estimated that the huts would cost upwards of £100,000 more, exclusive of their foundations, and that a considerable sum would have to be expended in the formation of roads and parade grounds, drainage, well-sinking, and other necessary works. It was intended that the camp at Aldershott should not be a temporary experiment, but a regular establishment, representing the consolidation of ten or twenty different barracks,

and embodying a new system of military training.

For some time it had been reported that the Emperor of the French intended to proceed in person to the Crimea, and endeavour to terminate the siege by the reduction of Sebastopol. Such, probably, was his intention; for had that famous fortress surrendered soon after his arrival, Europe would have hailed him as its conqueror, and his seat on the imperial throne of France would have been rendered too firm ever to be shaken. His intention, however, seems to have been interfered with by a doubt that perhaps Sebastopol might prove too strong to be taken by any force the allies could bring against it, and that the siege would eventually have to be abandoned.

Another rumour, to the effect that Napoleon and his beautiful empress, Eugenie, were about to visit England, and become the guests of our queen, proved to be correct. On Sunday, April the 15th, the emperor and empress left the Tuileries in an open carriage, escorted by a detachment of Cent Gardes. The emperor was accompanied by Marshal Vaillant, minister of war and grand marshal of the palace; the Duke de Bassano, grand chamberlain; General de Montebello, Colonel Fleury, and the Marquis de Toulangeon, his aides-de-camp. The empress was attended by the Princess d'Essling, grand mistress of her household; the Countess de Montebello and the Countess de Maralret, ladies of the palace; and Count Tasher de la Pagerie, first chamberlain to her majesty.

Arrived at Calais, the emperor and empress, with their respective suites, proceeded to the state apartments provided for them at Dessin's hotel. It is needless here to speak of the enthusiasm, triumphal arches, and illuminations with which they were welcomed in this ancient town.

The next morning they embarked in the *Pelican*, a small screw war steamer. They were received by the French admiral, the British ambassador (Lord Cowley), Baron Rothschild, Sir Robert Peel, Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, the British consul at Calais, and the district and local authorities. The empress was conducted on board by Admiral Chabannes, while the emperor offered the same politeness to the Princess d'Essling. For the benefit of those who feel interested in such matters, we may as well mention that the emperor wore the uniform of a marshal of France, while the elegant person

of the empress was attired in a small chip bonnet, and a broad plaid silk dress, with a graceful little gray hood. The *Pelican*, attended by a royal squadron, left the harbour and shot onward over a smooth sunlit sea; but, shortly after its departure, a dense fog spread over the channel, and became so thick as to obscure each of the ships from the sight of the others. Some danger to the illustrious party was apprehended; but, although their arrival at Dover was delayed a full hour and a-half, they arrived safely alongside the pier at a quarter-past one.

Prince Albert had been waiting at the landing-place with some anxiety to receive them. But now all was well; and as the *Pelican* approached the landing-place, carrying the English flag at the fore and the imperial standard at the mainmast, while the tricolour waved from the staff on the poop, the bands struck up "*Partant pour la Syrie*," and a loud, joyous shout from the assembled crowd, told the illustrious strangers that they were welcome on English soil. Many preparations had been made by the worthy people of Dover for their reception. The ground in the neighbourhood was kept by detachments of militia, together with a body of the East Kent mounted rifles, a fine body of men, in dark gray uniforms and black helmets.

When the emperor and empress embarked, they and Prince Albert shook hands together in the most cordial manner, and after some ceremonial observances, the illustrious party proceeded to the Lord Warden hotel, the apartments of which had been suitably prepared for the occasion. Having taken luncheon, the royal party proceeded to the large room, for the purpose of receiving an address from the municipal authorities of the town. The address, which presented no variation from the style usually adopted in such compositions, was listened to by the imperial pair with great attention. On its conclusion, the emperor, with great facility of expression, though in a slightly foreign accent, delivered the following reply:—"I am exceedingly grateful that your queen has allowed me to find such an occasion to pay my respects to her, and to show my sentiments of esteem and sympathy for the English people. I hope that the two nations will be always united in peace and in war; for I am convinced that it will be for the welfare of the whole world, and for their own prosperity. I am exceedingly

grateful to you for the sentiments you have expressed towards myself and the empress, and I hope you will be the interpreter of my sentiments and her's to your countrymen."

So delighted were the mayor and his compeers, that as they retired from the presence of the emperor, they were with difficulty restrained from expressing their excitement in a hearty cheer. From the hotel the royal party proceeded to the railway, and in two hours afterwards they arrived at the Bricklayer's Arms station. Along the line crowds of people assembled and cheered heartily as the train passed; every station, also, was filled with well-dressed and enthusiastic people. The fog which had hung over the sea and caused such a damp among the Dover folks in the morning, altogether disappeared; the sun broke out cheerfully, and the country looked smiling and beautiful. "It is impossible," said a reporter of the scene, "to exaggerate the enthusiasm which was displayed by persons congregated at the several stations, or occupying the sides of the railway as the train passed. At Tunbridge, where a delay of five minutes occurred in taking in water, the station was crowded to such an extent as to cause considerable anxiety lest some accident should occur. The ladies swarmed and clustered round the carriages, and the gentlemen forced their way along the narrow and crowded platform in a state of excitement which has seldom been equalled; and had it not been for the zealous exertions of Mr. Henry Cook, the assistant-secretary to the company, in warning persons of the danger of pressing against the carriages of the train, some accident would inevitably have taken place. At Reigate, the children of the Philanthropic school, and at Norwood, those of the Industrial school, were drawn up at the station. At Croydon, the cadets of the Addiscombe school hoped to have seen the train stop at the station. Heedless of their hopes and preparations, and gay decorations, the train dashed on, and a row of shadowy and indistinct objects was seen by the passengers in the train, which appeared to be the cadets themselves; and amid the noise of the train was heard a momentary sound of music, which was conjectured to proceed from a band on the platform. Screeching and shrieking, the train dashed along its iron path, giving to its passengers here and there glimpses of children and rustic peasants by the side of the

road—youth sending forth its shout of welcome, age swelling the chorus of exultation, the rich and the poor vying with each other in loud hurrahs, and delicate ladies essaying to rival the applause of the more hardy sex. The whole of the progress from Dover to London was, in fact, one continued ovation."

From the Bricklayer's Arms the royal party proceeded in an open barouche to the Paddington station, and from thence by rail to Windsor. Immense crowds were assembled to see the extraordinary man, the incidents of whose life are as wonderful as those of an Eastern romance. It was observed, that if in passing through the streets of London the mind of the emperor reverted to the past, one curious circumstance must have been recalled by the sight of the crowds he everywhere beheld assembled to greet him. On the 10th of April, 1848, when a Chartist insurrection was feared in the metropolis, and the great mass of the middle classes were sworn in as special constables to assist in preserving the public peace, Louis Napoleon, then an exile amongst us, armed himself with a staff and joined the ranks of those who "turned out to uphold the dignity of the law and the institutions of the country." Seven years, and strange changes had occurred; but none stranger than the events which had transformed the unregarded special constable into a powerful sovereign.

At seven in the evening, the emperor, empress, and prince arrived at Windsor, and proceeded instantly to the castle, where, on alighting at the grand hall, they were received by the Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Prince of Leiningen. Lord Palmerston and the Earl of Clarendon were also present, together with the great officers of state, the royal household, and the ladies and maids of honour in waiting. Her majesty took the arm of the emperor, Prince Albert gave his to Eugenie, and they proceeded to the reception-room, where the customary introductions took place. A dinner-party, followed by musical selections performed by the queen's private band, concluded the fatiguing yet gratifying day.

Let us pause and reflect a bit: at all times it is a wholesome and profitable thing. About three years before, the name of Louis Napoleon was seldom uttered in England but with curses and detestation. Whence

this change in public opinion?* Why did crowds of Englishmen who respect the laws, and have a sort of veneration for that mystic undefinable thing called the British constitution, rush to greet with enthusiasm the potentate who had raised himself to his illustrious position in defiance of laws, and by placing his foot upon a shattered constitution? They were influenced by several motives. It was generally felt, that if Louis Napoleon had smitten a tottering republic into nothingness, that he had also saved France from anarchy, and restored it to prosperity. If he had shed some blood, he had prevented the shedding of very much more, and caught back his country from the horror of another and unnecessary revolution. If he had gained his sceptre by violence, he had grasped it with firmness and wielded it with wisdom. If he had brought evil upon his country, he had atoned for it by devoting all the energies of his comprehensive mind to its prosperity and glory. Englishmen felt, also, that they had been unjust in their estimate of his character, and they wished to make amends for the wrong they had done him. They recognised in him a brave man; and Englishmen love the brave: they recognised in him a sincere ally, utterly untainted by the diplomatic tricks of Austria; and they esteem sincerity: they recognised in him a great man; and they venerate greatness.

* The changes which time produces in public opinion are curious enough, and not unfrequently actually incredible. In speaking of the first Emperor Napoleon, he is commonly and justly referred to as "Napoleon the Great." Many may yet recollect how he was estimated during the time of the great war in the latter days of George III.; but for the information of those on whose temples nature has not began to sprinkle her white favours, we will quote the following amusing passage from an article called "Pictures of Life and Character," in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xcvi.:—"In those great coloured prints in our grandfather's portfolios in the library, and in some other apartments in the house, where the caricatures used to be pasted in those days, we found things quite beyond our comprehension. Boney was represented as a fierce dwarf, with goggle eyes, a huge laced hat, and tricoloured plume, a crooked sabre, reeking with blood—a little demon revelling in lust, murder, and massacre. John Bull was shown kicking him a good deal; indeed, he was prodigiously kicked all through that series of pictures, by Sir Sidney Smith and our brave allies the gallant Turks; by the excellent and patriotic Spaniards; by the amiable and indignant Russians;—all nations had boots at the service of poor Master Boney. How Pitt used to defy him! How good old George, King of Brobdignag, laughed at Gulliver-Boney, sailing about in his tank to make sport for their majesties! This little fiend, this beggar's

An attachment to the French people had long been spreading through the English public, and eradicating the insane hatred and misconceptions concerning their elegant Gallic neighbours, which resulted from the last great war. The nation wished to express its feelings on this subject, and the enthusiastic reception of the Emperor Napoleon was an ovation to the French people! It accepted him as the representative of France, and took him to its bosom as a friend it loved and a neighbour it delighted to honour. These, we believe, were the almost universal feelings of the nation; but a more utilitarian feeling also mingled in the homage paid to the self-raised emperor by our politicians. They saw in France, as led by Napoleon, a balance to the power of Russia and a barrier against its aggressions.

To these remarks of our own, we add some of considerable interest from the *Times*, whose briefly-written leaders often rival the brilliancy and acumen of highly-finished essays. "The truth is, that when everything has been said that can be said to the disparagement of the emperor, his is a character and career thoroughly, and, indeed, singularly, appreciable by the British people. In no country is decision of character, singleness of aim, fixedness of purpose, and useful ambition, more in honour. We hold up to our children the instances of

brat, cowardly, murderous, and atheistic as he was—(we remember in those old portfolios pictures representing Boney and his family in rags, gnawing raw bones in a Corsican hut; Boney murdering the sick at Jaffa; Boney with a hookah and a large turban, having adopted the Turkish religion, &c.)—this Corsican monster, nevertheless, had some devoted friends in England, according to the *Gillray Chronicle*,—a set of villains who loved atheism, tyranny, plunder, and wickedness in general, like their French friend. In the pictures these men were all represented as dwarfs, like their ally. The miscreants got into power at one time, and, if we remember right, were called the Broad-backed Administration. One with shaggy eyebrows and a bristly beard, the hirsute ringleader of the rascals, was, it appears, called Charles James Fox; another miscreant, with a blotched countenance, was a certain Sheridan; other imps were hight Erskine, Norfolk (Jockey of), Moira, Henry Petty. As in our childish innocence we used to look at these demons—now sprawling and tipsy in their cups—now scaling heaven, from which the angelic Pitt hurled them down—now cursing the light (their atrocious ringleader, Fox, was represented with hairy cloven feet, and a tail and horns)—now kissing Boney's boots, but inevitably discomfited by Pitt and the other good angels,—we hated these vicious wretches, as good children should; we were on the side of virtue, and Pitt, and grand-papa."

those who have raised themselves from a humble position, or forced their way through great difficulties and discouragements. In the face of that precept in the catechism which piously inculcates that we should be content with that station where God has placed us, even our religious societies diffuse little story-books expressly adapted to foster youthful ambition. Our most popular moralists urge decision of character by almost every motive and for almost any object. We point with pride to the comparatively recent or lowly origin of our great families. Every father in the middle ranks of life tells his children how the sons of cheesemongers and publicans become bishops, and the sons of barbers become lord chancery, and the son of a country parson the great Lord Nelson. Even in the career of Wellington, we choose to forget that he was born and bred in a court, with unbounded influence at his back, and merely remember that he was, for a time, in small lodgings, and obliged to borrow money from his landlord. It is carefully noted where the King of the Belgians lodged when he first appeared in this country, and what was his income, not so much for envy of his rise, but because this is the favourite type of British biography. Whether this be not carried too far, and whether many minds are not early disgusted with appeals to what their own instinct tells them are inferior motives, we will not now inquire. It is enough that this is the habit of the country, and that it is the tendency of the British social state to leave no alternative, and to compel men to rise or to sink lower still. The mode of rising may not be quite the same as in other countries, for very few rise here by the military or civil service of their country. The more open and frequented paths of ambition are, perhaps, the mercantile, the legal, and the clerical. Yet, on the whole, we make it a point to rise by fair means, or by those that are less fair; and our moral and religious authorities are always ready to commend the energy and decision that are rewarded with success. So, though we have only one Cromwell, and though we are all pleased and proud to remember that the Duke of Marlborough became a humble subject when he was stripped of his command, and even the Duke of Wellington did little with his influence, except advising his brother peers to bow to public opinion, we can still honour and admire the man who, in strictness of lan-

guage, may be said to have triumphed over the liberty—though, in fact, over the *license*, of his country—and who has made himself that which we would not tolerate ourselves a day longer than we could help it.”

To return to our narrative. On Tuesday, the day following that of the emperor's arrival, the weather was extremely beautiful. Windsor was thronged with visitors of all classes from the metropolis, and the approaches to the castle were densely crowded. The emperor and empress, in company with the queen and Prince Albert, walked upon the slopes, and then visited the dairy and model farms, on which new buildings, on an extensive scale, had recently been erected. Three o'clock had been appointed for the mayor and town council of Windsor to present an address to the emperor. The address was read by the recorder as follows:—

“May it please your imperial majesty,—We, her Britannic majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, most respectfully beg leave to approach your imperial majesty with our sincere and hearty congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and your imperial consort in our country, and on your visit to our gracious monarch at the long-favoured seat of the sovereigns of this country.

“We avail ourselves of this auspicious occasion to assure your imperial majesty that we have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the alliance which has been formed between your majesty and our beloved queen in defence of the sovereign rights of an independent state which have been unjustly violated. We feel that the war in which your majesty has exhibited so much judgment, ability, and disinterested generosity is just in principle, that it was not rashly or hastily commenced, and is now only pursued in defence of an oppressed people, and for the establishment and maintenance of a safe and durable peace.

“We have not failed to observe with sentiments of respect and sympathy the admirable skill, indomitable courage, and extraordinary endurance which have been manifested by the valiant soldiers of France in the present struggle, whereby they have more than maintained that glorious renown which their forefathers reaped in a hundred battles; nor have we been indifferent spectators of the kindness and cordiality which so happily exist between the armies of France and England, now fighting together

in one common cause; and we earnestly hope that the warriors of both nations may henceforth be found contending side by side for the honour, safety, and advancement of France and England, and the peace and happiness of the world. We trust that now, under the guidance of your imperial majesty and our illustrious sovereign, a union will be formed which will bind the two countries in an indissoluble bond of cordial and lasting friendship.

"We are sensible, sire, that to the wisdom and vigour of your imperial majesty's councils and to your unceasing endeavours to promote the truest interests of the powerful and generous nation which Providence has committed to your care, may be attributed that prosperity and happiness which your country now so fully enjoys; and we venture to augur that by encouraging a friendly and personal intercourse between your imperial majesty and the sovereign of Great Britain, your majesty adopts the surest means, not only of strengthening a happy and stable alliance between the two countries, but of sustaining the liberties and civilisation of Europe.

"May your imperial majesty and your illustrious consort long live to enjoy every domestic and personal blessing, and the loyalty and attachment of an admiring and grateful people!

"Given under the common seal of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses at the Guildhall, in the said borough, on the 9th day of April, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, and in the year of our Lord, 1855."

To this his imperial majesty replied:—

"Mr. Mayor,—I am very much pleased with the sentiments contained in your address; and I trust that the alliance so happily formed will last for many, many years. I thank you for the hearty reception I have met with in your town, but I am sure I cannot take it to myself so much as to the circumstance of my being the guest of your queen. I was much gratified by what I witnessed last night in your town; and I beg that you will express to the inhabitants of Windsor how highly pleased I was with their kindness and attention."

The commissioners of lieutenantancy for the city of London, and a deputation of the merchants, bankers, and traders of London, also attended and presented addresses, which

expressed sentiments not dissimilar to those contained in that of the authorities of Windsor.

At four, the illustrious party proceeded to the great park to witness a review of the 2nd life-guards, the royal horse-guards, and the carbineers, under the command of the Earl of Cardigan. The emperor rode between Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge, and was mounted on his favourite charger "Phillips," a remarkably fine animal, which usually carried his imperial majesty on the occasion of a military review. The queen and the empress sat together in an open carriage and four, and the royal children followed in similar conveyances. On the arrival of the illustrious *cortège* on the ground, they were received with a royal salute, the bands playing the national anthem and "*Partant pour la Syrie*." The review lasted nearly two hours, and concluded with a mimic battle. The emperor then rode to the front, and addressing Lord Cardigan, expressed himself highly satisfied with the inspection. On the return of the imperial party to the castle, her majesty entertained them at a dinner-party in St. George's-hall. The day was closed with an evening party, which was attended by considerable numbers of the aristocracy.

The following day (Wednesday), the queen held a chapter of the order of the garter, at the castle, for the purpose of investing the emperor with the ensigns of this venerable order. From the pages of the *Court Circular* we extract an account of this proceeding, which may be not inappropriately termed an historical curiosity:—

"The knights companions were robed in the guard-chamber, and afterwards passed to the grand reception-room. Her majesty the queen and his royal highness Prince Albert were conducted by the great officers of state to the throne-room, followed by the Duke of Cambridge and the Prince of Leiningen. The queen and their royal and serene highnesses wore the purple velvet mantle, the crimson velvet hood, and the splendid collar of the order. The train of her majesty, the sovereign of the order, was borne by the pages of honour in waiting. The queen wore also a diamond diadem.

"The knights companions were called over by garter king-of-arms, when the following answered according to their order of seniority:—the Marquis of Exeter, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of

Salisbury, the Duke of Cleveland, Earl de Grey, the Marquis of Abercorn, the Marquis of Hertford, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Earl of Aberdeen. The officers of the order present were—the Bishop of Winchester, prelate; the Bishop of Oxford, chancellor; the Hon. and very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, registrar; Sir Charles George Young, garter king-of-arms; and Sir Augustus Clifford, gentleman usher of the black rod. The knights appeared in the mantle and collar of the garter, and the officers wore their respective robes with their chains and badges.

“The knights companions and officers entered the throne-room and took their seats at the table, the queen being seated in a chair of state at the head, a second (vacant) chair of state being on the right hand of her majesty. The prelate of the order stood on the right of the queen, the chancellor on the left, while the registrar, garter, and black rod remained at the bottom of the table. The ceremony commenced by the chancellor reading a new statute, by command of the queen, dispensing with the existing statutes of the order of the garter, in as far as was required for the especial purpose therein mentioned, and ordaining and declaring that his imperial majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, be declared a knight of this order, any statute, decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“By the queen’s command the Emperor of the French was conducted from his apartments through the music-room and grand reception-room between his royal highness Prince Albert and his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, the two senior knights companions present, preceded by the garter king-of-arms (bearing the ensigns of the order upon a crimson velvet cushion) and by black rod. The queen and the knights of the garter received his imperial majesty standing, and the emperor, passing to the head of the table, took a seat in the chair of state on the right hand of her majesty.

“Her imperial majesty the Empress of the French, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, her royal highness the Princess Royal, his royal highness Prince Alfred, her royal highness the Princess Alice, and their royal highnesses the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary, had been conducted

to the throne-room before the entrance of the queen, for the purpose of witnessing the august ceremony. The empress and the Duchess of Cambridge were ushered to seats near the throne. The queen announced to the Emperor of the French that his imperial majesty had been elected a knight of the most noble order of the garter.

“Garter king-of-arms, kneeling, presented the garter to the sovereign, and her majesty, assisted by his royal highness Prince Albert, buckled it on the left leg of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. Garter king-of-arms presented the riband with the George, and the queen put the same over the left shoulder of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. The queen then gave the accolade to the emperor, and his imperial majesty received the congratulations of his royal highness Prince Albert, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, his serene highness the Prince of Leiningen, and each of the knights companions present.

“The chapter being thus ended, the knights companions were again called over by garter, and retired from the presence of the sovereign with the usual reverences. Her majesty accompanied the emperor to his apartments, followed by the empress and Prince Albert, and attended by the ladies and gentlemen of the royal suites. The queen and prince afterwards returned to their own rooms.”

Each day of the emperor’s stay in England brought with it some appropriate entertainment. On Thursday, the imperial pair visited the city, at the invitation of the civic authorities, to receive from them an address, and to partake of the hospitality for which they are so famous. Our regal guests arrived at the private terminus of the Nine Elms’ station at twelve o’clock, being accompanied thus far by the queen and Prince Albert, and proceeded to Buckingham Palace. From thence they departed shortly before two for Guildhall. Along the whole of this long drive the people were gathered in extraordinary numbers. Not pavements and windows alone, but house-tops seemed one mass of human life. The procession moved forward in the gorge of a continuous valley of living men and women; and as for the cheering, it ran along on either side of the imperial carriage like an accompanying wave of sound, which rose high above that of his trampling escort.

The name of Napoleon acted as a talisman upon those immense masses of people, and those who had anticipated danger or outrage, were agreeably disappointed. It was conjectured that the mind of the emperor himself was not altogether free from surmises of this kind; and it is even stated that he possessed a presentiment that he should die in the streets of London. Some unnecessary preparations, as regards great numbers both of French and English detective police, taken in connexion with the rapid pace at which the emperor was driven through the city, and that a guardsman rode on each side of the carriage windows, so that very few could even obtain a view of those who sat within it, gave a colour to these suppositions. They were, however, perfectly groundless. There is a large party in England who reprehend the manner in which Napoleon obtained his exalted position; but, as a guest amongst them, his person was sacred.

The illustrious foreigners arrived at Guildhall shortly after two o'clock, when they were saluted by a guard of honour, and received with the music of "*Partant pour la Syrie*." Extensive and tasteful preparations had been made to welcome them. At the eastern end of the hall a *dais*, slightly raised above the level of the floor, had been erected, and upon it were placed two chairs of state, covered with purple velvet, and richly ornamented with gilding. On the back of the one intended for the emperor the initial "N" was embroidered in gold, within a wreath, worked in the same material; on the other, destined for the empress, the initial "E" was similarly emblazoned. The state chairs were surrounded by a canopy of rich purple velvet, fringed with gold, and lined with cream-coloured satin, each corner of the canopy displaying an imperial eagle, richly gilt. On either side of the hall were seven clustered columns, on the top of each of which were grouped the national flags of England, France, and Turkey, surmounting medallion portraits of Queen Victoria and the Emperor Napoleon III., which were displayed upon alternate pillars. Added to this, devices, bearing the words "*Alma*," "*Balaklava*," "*Inkermann*," supported by wreaths, encircling the British lion and the French eagle, were arranged beneath the windows between each column. The seats and the floor of the hall were covered with a light chocolate-coloured cloth, which formed an agreeable

contrast to the predominant tricolours in the upper part of the building.

The company, which included most of the members of the administration, the American, Greek, Austrian, Portuguese, Sardinian, Brazilian, Sicilian, Swedish, Spanish, and Turkish ambassadors, many of our nobles, and other celebrities, gave, in connexion with the rich and tasteful dresses of the ladies, to the old hall a gorgeous and interesting appearance. In the gallery opposite the chairs of state, one or two unpretending-looking gentlemen were stationed with the necessary apparatus for preserving, by means of the photographic process, a pictorial representation of the day's proceedings.

Shortly after two, a flourish of trumpets announced the arrival of the illustrious visitors, and a few minutes afterwards the emperor and empress entered the hall amid an enthusiastic and prolonged burst of cheering. He was attired in his usual military uniform, in addition to which he wore the star and ribbon of the garter; the empress wore a white bonnet—light and delicate as a snow-flake—and a green dress, elaborately decorated with lace; and looked so elegant and beautiful, that people gazed on her with an admiration that deepened into personal affection. His imperial majesty and the empress proceeded to their chairs of state, where the former, who seemed somewhat fatigued, remained standing. Around the chairs of state was a semicircle of brilliant court uniforms, worn by Marshal Vaillant, Duc de Bassano, Lord Alfred Paget, and other members of the French and English courts. When the applause had ceased, the recorder, accompanied by the lord mayor and other civic authorities, advanced, and taking their positions immediately opposite the centre of the *dais*, the former read the following address to their imperial majesties:—

"May it please your majesty, — We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, desire to offer to your majesty our heartfelt congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and the Empress of the French in this country as the guests of our most gracious queen; and, on behalf of our fellow-citizens and ourselves, we humbly tender to your majesties the warmest expression of our gratitude for the welcome visit by which you have deigned to honour our city on this memorable day.

"The attention of Europe and the world

is already fixed on the attitude of dignity and united strength displayed by France and Great Britain in the present war, and the coming of your majesty, invited by our beloved queen at such a time, will draw closer the bonds of mutual friendship and common interest so happily uniting the two countries.

"The cordial alliance of two such mighty powers, cemented and sealed by intimate and frank intercourse between their rulers, must sway the destinies of all, will abate the pride of our common enemies, increase the confidence of our allies, and give new vigour to our arms.

"By the wise policy of your majesty's reign all our ancient jealousies have been appeased, and the flags of France and England now mingle their colours alike in the Baltic and in the East. Ranged together in a righteous cause, braving like hardships, and shedding their blood side by side in victory, the soldiery of our united armies and the seamen of our combined fleets have learnt to regard each other with the love of brave and generous comrades, second only to the love they bear their respective countries, and, while such are the feelings, we rejoice that sentiments akin to these are growing daily and sinking deeply into the breasts of the people of these great and neighbouring nations.

"None can doubt that the allied forces thus animated, led in perfect harmony by commanders of tried skill and valour, and guided by united counsels at home, will achieve by arms the just and unambitious object of the present war; unless, as we may hope, the efforts of assembled statesmen shall yet avert the calamities of protracted warfare by the speedier negotiation of an honourable and enduring peace.

"This cordial reception, therefore, of the chosen and puissant Emperor of the French by the illustrious sovereign who reigns over these realms and lives in the hearts of the British people, we regard as a type of a close and lasting friendship between the two nations, and the happiest augury of a returning time when, undisturbed in the onward course of civilisation, the nations of Europe may again lay aside the sword, and resume their exalted rivalry in the works of beneficence alone.

"We are earnestly anxious further to express to your imperial majesty the lively pleasure and respectful admiration with which we have seen you accompanied on

this happy occasion by your illustrious consort her majesty the Empress of the French. We tender to your majesty the expression of our confident hope that you may ever find in the affections of domestic life the best solace and support which this world can afford under the cares and weight of the high destiny you are now fulfilling with such conspicuous power and moderation, and we fervently pray that life and health may, by the blessing of Providence, be vouchsafed to your majesties for many years to come."

The illustrious visitors remained standing during the reading of the address, and both of them listened with deep interest. As the passage referring to the Empress Eugénie was read, a loud and prolonged cheer rang through the hall, a compliment which she smilingly and graciously acknowledged.

The address concluded, a short pause ensued, and then the emperor, in a firm and distinct voice, read the following remarkable and eloquent reply:—

"My Lord Mayor,—After the cordial reception I have experienced from the queen, nothing could affect me more deeply than the sentiments towards the empress and myself to which you, my lord mayor, have given expression on the part of the city of London; for the city of London represents the available resources which a world-wide commerce affords both for civilisation and for war. Flattering as are your praises, I accept them, because they are addressed much more to France than to myself; they are addressed to a nation whose interests are to-day everywhere identical with your own; they are addressed to an army and navy united to yours by an heroic companionship in danger and in glory; they are addressed to the policy of the two governments, which is based on truth, on moderation, and on justice. For myself, I have retained on the throne the same sentiments of sympathy and esteem for the English people that I professed as an exile while I enjoyed here the hospitality of your queen; and if I have acted in accordance with my convictions, it is that the interest of the nation which has chosen me, no less than that of universal civilisation, has made it a duty. Indeed, England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics and of human progress that agitate the world. From the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Mediterranean—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—from the

desire to abolish slavery to our hopes for the amelioration of all the countries of Europe—I see in the moral as in the political world for our two nations but one course and one end. It is, then, only by unworthy considerations and pitiful rivalries that our union could be dissevered. If we follow the dictates of common sense alone, we shall be sure of the future. You are right in interpreting my presence among you as a fresh and convincing proof of my energetic co-operation in the prosecution of the war, if we fail in obtaining an honourable peace. Should we so fail, although our difficulties may be great, we may surely count on a successful result; for not only are our soldiers and sailors of tried valour—not only do our two countries possess within themselves unrivalled resources—but above all—and here lies their superiority—it is because they are in the van of all generous and enlightened ideas. The eyes of all who suffer instinctively turn to the West. Thus our two nations are even more powerful from the opinions they represent than by the armies and fleets they have at their command. I am deeply grateful to your queen for affording me this solemn opportunity of expressing to you my own sentiments and those of France, of which I am the interpreter. I thank you in my own name and in that of the empress, for the frank and hearty cordiality with which you have received us. We shall take back with us to France the lasting impression, made on minds thoroughly able to appreciate it, of the imposing spectacle which England presents, where virtue on the throne directs the destinies of a country under the empire of a liberty without danger to its grandeur.”

The business of the addresses dispatched, the illustrious party proceeded to the council-chamber to partake of a sumptuous *déjeuner*. At four, a flourish of trumpets announced their departure, and the emperor and empress passed through the hall to their earriages amid the most warm and enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and regard. In

* Rather too melodramatic an allusion for a prayer.

† The *Times* had the following remarks on the selection of this magnificent structure, the result of private enterprise, for the inspection of the emperor, rather than any of our national exhibitions:—“The palace, being the production of a joint-stock company for the amusement and instruction of the people, has no other claims to the honour of such a visit; but the novelty of the undertaking and its extraordinary magnificence appear to have won for it an amount of favour in ‘the highest quarters,’ which even the state establishments, formed and

the corridor were arranged a number of valuable portraits of the Napoleon family, lent for the occasion by Herr Wetter. They included portraits of the Emperor Napoleon I.; Joseph Buonaparte, King of Spain; Jerome, King of Westphalia; Letitia, mother of the Emperor Napoleon I.; and Hortense, consort of Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, and mother of the Emperor Napoleon III. In passing through the corridor these family likenesses naturally attracted the notice of the emperor, who paused before the portrait of his mother, and directing the attention of the empress to it, exclaimed with much feeling, “This is kind, indeed!”

In the evening, the emperor and empress, her majesty the queen, and Prince Albert, paid a state visit to the Italian Opera. The excitement occasioned by this event was enormous, and pit tickets were sold at ten, and, in some cases, even at fifteen guineas each. The house had been appropriately decorated for the occasion. Vast mirrors multiplied the effects of the statuary; parterres of flowers, richly adorned furniture, and endless lustres, almost realised the ideal of one of the palaces of the *Arabian Nights*. The illustrious party entered after the termination of the first act of the opera selected—Beethoven’s *Fidelio*. Their appearance was the signal for most enthusiastic cheering, and “*Partant pour la Syrie*” was performed, and then succeeded by our own national anthem. After the opera, the order was reversed, and “God save the Queen” was first sung. On this occasion the following additional verse was introduced:—

“Emperor and empress,
Oh Lord! be pleased to bless;
Look on this scene!*
And may we ever find,
With bonds of peace entwined,
England and France combined,
God save the queen!”

Friday, the last day of the emperor’s sojourn, was devoted to a visit to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.† The royal *cortège*

supported for the same objects, have failed to secure. Why, one naturally asks, should the great structure on the hill of Sydenham be marked out for imperial curiosity in preference to the British Museum and other institutions supported out of the revenue of the country? Why do we give freely to one class of buildings from the proceeds of general taxation, and, when foreign potentates come among us, take them to see others that have arisen by a spontaneous growth as purely commercial speculations? These are the obvious questions that suggest themselves with reference to this visit; yet,

reached this famous building at noon. The queen took the arm of the emperor, Prince Albert gave his to Eugénie, and then, followed by their suite, they made the tour of this brilliant temple of beauty and the arts. During this royal progress the public were excluded from the interior of the palace, but admitted to the gardens. At length their majesties proceeded to the balcony overlooking the terrace gardens, and presented themselves in front of a canopied stage prepared for them. From upwards of 20,000 well-dressed persons assembled on the terrace, arose cheer after cheer with the most fervent enthusiasm. The impassible emperor was evidently excited, and the beautiful face of Eugénie was lit up with an expression of astonishment and gratification. Then the queen stood forward alone, and was greeted in a manner that proved to her, if any such proof was needed, that her throne was based on the broad foundation of a people's love. After a further inspection of the palace, the royal party returned to London.

On Saturday morning, April 21st, the emperor and his royal consort took leave of her majesty, and left Buckingham Palace to return to Paris. They proceeded to the Bricklayer's Arms station, and from thence to Dover, accompanied by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge. When the

upon consideration, the fact is not surprising. The genius of the English people is not to lean upon government for the supply of their social wants. It is to provide, as far as possible, by private enterprise for the exigencies of the times in which we live, and not to convert the resources of the state to any other purposes than those which fall legitimately and strictly within the sphere of government. Upon that principle the Crystal Palace has been founded. It is the latest and most brilliant illustration of a political doctrine to which the nation justly attaches a very high value; and though the profitable results of the undertaking are still uncertain, we have such confidence in the pecuniary success of whatever deserves to succeed, that we cannot believe in its failure, until it is demonstrated in the clearest and most unmistakable manner. A well-known contractor, Mr. Dargan, being asked one day his opinion as to the probable effect of lavish expenditure upon the ultimate prospects of the Crystal Palace, pithily replied, 'You may depend upon it that when a thing is right in the main, it takes a deal of mismanagement to make it go wrong.' That is the conviction upon which most people in this country act when they invest their capital in joint-stock enterprises; nor can it be fairly questioned that such deep-seated reliance upon the commercial character of undertakings, lies at the bottom of the remarkable progress which this country is making in every department of material industry. In France a different system is adopted. There little is attempted without the in-

emperor descended from the carriage at Dover, Mr. Rich, M.P., the chairman of the railway company, inquired whether the arrangements made by the company had given him satisfaction. His majesty replied, "Everything has been excellent. I only regret one thing—that is, that you have conveyed me too quickly out of England." While in the station, the emperor observed Mr. Payne, the mayor of Dover, who was the first Englishman to welcome him on his debarkation. Napoleon placed in his hands a small box, saying as he did so, "I hope, Mr. Mayor, you will keep this in kind remembrance of me." The case contained a valuable jewelled snuff-box of blue enamel, richly ornamented with gold, and having upon the lid the letter "N" set in brilliants. The lord mayor of London, the mayor of Windsor, and others, received similar presents from the emperor.

The emperor and empress embarked in the vessel appointed to convey them to their own shores. They were seen on board by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge. The empress parted in the most affectionate manner with the Marchioness of Ely, who had been in attendance on her majesty during her stay, and also, with the emperor, shook hands heartily with the other members of the suite who had accompanied the prince. The latter, previous to leaving the

intervention of the governing power, and though, undoubtedly, that intervention wards off many evils, it operates in a serious way to check the rapid growth of interests calculated to contribute in an important degree to the prosperity of the nation. It was probably, in some measure, an appreciation of the contrast thus indicated which induced the queen and Prince Albert to take their imperial guests yesterday to Sydenham. But other reasons must have weighed with them also in doing so. They have ever shown an enlightened regard for those new institutions which, by presenting to the eye in the most attractive form the products of human industry and knowledge, tend to increase the respect of the people for their daily occupations. The war in which England is now involved overtook it at a moment when men's minds were filled with enthusiasm for the progress of the peaceful arts—when prospects had begun not obscurely to open up to us of superseding the lower and more depressing forms of toil—when invention and science promised the richest harvests to their votaries—and when, under a thousand genial influences, the time seemed at hand for binding together the framework of a great industrial system that should embrace within its scope every nation of the civilised world. These hopes have passed away, and a clouded future lies before us; but still the instincts of the country and the predilections of the sovereign point, even amid hospitable cares, in the direction towards which we should like to steer."

steamer, shook hands several times with the empress, and upon finally parting from her, kissed her left hand. The gangway was withdrawn, the guns roared forth their salutes, the paddles revolved, and the illustrious guests were on their way back to France.

We have dwelt at some length upon the details of this remarkable visit. Some may perhaps think we have given too much space to the record of festivities in the pages of a history of a great and weary war. If so, let them reflect on its significance. It is the inauguration of a new and glorious era in history; a type of the intimate alliance, not by hollow treaties, but by the bonds of mutual esteem and admiration, of the rulers and peoples of the two most enlightened nations of Europe. This is the grandest result of the war—its fairest fruit. Let us hope that it may never wither, never lose its sweetness and its beauty, but remain through future centuries a source of gladness and glory to unborn millions!

One week after the Emperor Napoleon III. left the shores of this country (on Saturday, April the 28th), he was fired at by an assassin, while on horseback in the Champs Elysées. The emperor, accompanied by two of his household, Colonel Ney and Colonel Valabreque, left the palace of the Tuileries about five o'clock, to take his usual ride in the Champs Elysées and join the empress, who had preceded him, and was then in the alley Dauphine, in the Bois de Boulogne. While riding slowly through the grand avenue, which was filled with people who offered the usual respectful salutations to their sovereign, a man of a dark complexion, and rather under the middle height, advanced from the throng and approached to within five or six paces of the emperor. The latter was in the act of returning his salutation, when the man drew a double-barrelled pistol from beneath his paletot, and fired. The shot was without effect; and the assassin, supporting his weapon on his arm, fired a second time. It was probably owing to the circumstance that the horse of the emperor shied a little at the first report, that the second shot also missed its mark. The man was instantly seized by a police agent and by the spectators, just as he was about to draw forth another pistol. As the fellow struggled desperately, and made violent attempts to shoot those who detained him, the police

agent, in self-defence, wounded him twice with a poniard-cane. It was with some difficulty that the people were prevented from tearing the assassin to pieces: the emperor himself calling out to them to spare him. He was at length taken in safety to the guard-house at the Barrière de l'Etoile, where it was discovered that he was an Italian shoemaker, by name Pianori.

The emperor preserved that cool impassibility which is so characteristic of him, and acknowledged, by repeated bows, the tremendous acclamations that rose from the crowd as he still rode slowly forward to the triumphal arch. A messenger had been sent on in haste to inform the empress of what had occurred, and to assure her of the safety of her husband. In less than half-an-hour she returned from her drive, with the emperor riding by her side. Eugénie was deeply affected, and cried hysterically amidst her attempts to smile with joy at his escape. Unable to subdue her emotion, she at length leant back in the carriage and gave way to an uncontrolled burst of tears. The people were much affected at the sight, and rent the air with their acclamations. Notwithstanding what had occurred, they both fulfilled their intention of visiting the Opera Comique, where they were received with the warmest enthusiasm.

The following morning (Sunday), there was a continual roll of carriages to the Tuileries, that their occupants might congratulate the emperor on his escape. Amongst them were the representatives of the senate, to whom Napoleon made the following remarkable reply:—"I thank the senate for the sentiments it has just expressed to me. I fear nothing from the attempts of assassins; there are existences which are the instruments of the decrees of Providence. As long as I shall not have fulfilled my mission, I run no danger."

On searching Pianori at the guard-house, one hundred francs in gold were found in his pockets, and he was discovered to be dressed in an undersuit, quite different to the first in form and colour; so that if he had not been at once arrested, he would probably have escaped. His name was first stated to be Liverani, that being the one inserted in his passport, probably with a view of procuring his safety should he have succeeded in his dark design and remained undetected. He was under thirty years of age, and had belonged to the free lancers of Garibaldi. His countenance, which was

handsome, betrayed much resolution. His violence in confinement was so great, that it was found necessary to put on the *camisole de force*, in order to prevent him from destroying himself. Rage at his disappointment, and probably a dread of the result to himself, kept him for some time in a state of delirium; displaying occasionally the excitement of a maniac, and then sinking into deep dejection. His trial took place on Monday, the 7th of May, according to the ordinary forms of criminal justice: the emperor, when pressed by some of his advisers to cause the prisoner to be arraigned for high treason, replied, very sensibly, that he wished the prisoner to be tried as if he had fired on a journeyman plasterer of the Plain of St. Denis. The crime certainly was an extraordinary one; but it is better to treat offences of this kind with contemptuous ignominy, than to exalt the would-be assassin into what vulgar minds regard as a kind of hero of criminality. Truly was it observed, that the life of the emperor was the only barrier between the existing order of things in France and changes of so great and so obscure a character, that no man was wise enough to foresee them, or bold enough to confront them.

The trial of Pianori commenced and concluded on the same day. He stood at the bar calm and self-possessed, though sorrowful-looking. The following elaborate account of his personal appearance, appeared in an organ of the weekly press:—"Pianori is a decidedly handsome young man, notwithstanding a certain compression about the eyebrows, which, perhaps, may be the result of agony of mind. He has decidedly what the French call *une belle tête*. Hair and beard black, and trimly cut; the beard that of a man but emerging from adolescence, ample but feathery; mustachoes curled upwards with a certain elegance; while his manners and tone of speaking are evidently not those of a person brought up as what is called a gentleman, they are still those of a man in a more easy condition of life than that of a working shoemaker, which he professed to be. It was particularly remarked, as he sat in the dock, that his hands were slight and delicate, and he looked frequently at his nails, as a man often does from habit when he is accustomed to keep them scrupulously clean and well cut. He is about the middle size, and remarkably well-built. He wore a loose paletot, buttoned up to a

level with the shoulders; but his neck, quite bare, attracted attention by its manly beauty. His eyes are black and expressive; his complexion dark, but not very dark for an Italian." According to information received by the French government, he had committed many crimes, and been sentenced in Rome to twelve years at the galleys. This Pianori denied, though he admitted he had been six months in prison "for having taken part in some affairs." He denied having accomplices, or being the instrument of any secret political association. His crime, committed in open day and in the presence of thousands of people, could not be denied; the reason he assigned for it was, that the emperor, by the expedition to Rome, had ruined him and his family; the defence offered by his counsel was little more than an appeal for mercy, which, as may be supposed, was without effect.

Pianori was found guilty and sentenced to the punishment awarded by the penal code for the crime of parricide. To this he listened in a calm impassive manner, and retired without saying a word. In former times a parricide had his hand cut off from the wrist previous to execution. The thirteenth article of the penal code specifies, that "the parricide shall be led to the place of execution in a shirt, barefoot, and his head covered with a black veil; that he shall be exposed on the scaffold whilst a public officer reads to the people the sentence of condemnation, and that he shall immediately be put to death."

We are at a loss to understand the justice of this revolting sentence; for, heavy as Pianori's crime was, he was not a parricide, and ought not to have been condemned as one. Moreover, the emperor himself had expressed a wish that the assassin should be tried simply for the act he had committed, and not in consideration of the high position of the person against whom he had committed it. Such a sentence was the partial revival of the barbarism of evil times; but it was only partially carried into effect, the most offensive circumstance, the cutting off the hand, being omitted. We do not hesitate to say, that had this cruelty been performed, the act would, at least in England, have cost the emperor all the popularity he had so lately acquired. Death is the deserved punishment of the assassin: no effeminate or rose-tinted philanthropy would influence us to save human wolves from the fate they had courted; but that

fate should be destruction—not torture. Least of all should it be the mental torture of prolonging the death-agony by solemn dramatic fooleries which, we regret, were to some extent resorted to in this instance. Pianori was led to the guillotine at the early hour of five in the morning of the 14th of May. He was taken to the scaffold with a black veil thrown over his face, his figure

covered with a long shirt, and his feet naked. His features were calm, but pale, though a bright hectic spot burnt on his cheeks, and revealed the emotion he attempted to conceal. As he stood upon the scaffold he cried "*Vive la Republique!*" and was about to repeat the cry, when the plank to which he was bound turned, the axe fell, and the assassin was a headless corpse.

CHAPTER VII.

RENEWAL OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF SEBASTOPOL; ITS FAILURE; TURKISH TROOPS AT SEBASTOPOL; CONTESTS FOR THE RIFLE PITS; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM; DISTRIBUTION OF THE WAR MEDALS; ALISON'S OPINION AS TO THE RESULT OF THE WAR; PELISSIER TAKES THE PLACE OF CANROBERT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE CRIMEA; EXPEDITION OF AN ALLIED SQUADRON TO THE STRAITS OF KERTCH; ITS RECALL; IT DEPARTS AGAIN; BLOODLESS CAPTURE OF KERTCH AND YENIKALE; ENTRANCE OF THE ALLIED SQUADRON INTO THE SEA OF AZOFF; BOMBARDMENT OF ARABAT; ENORMOUS DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIAN SHIPPING AND STORES; PLUNDERING OF KERTCH; THE RUSSIANS ABANDON AND BLOW UP THE FORTS OF SOUDJAK AND ANAPA IN THE BLACK SEA; RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION TO BALAKLAVA AND KAMIESCH.

PREPARATIONS for a renewal of the bombardment of Sebastopol were at length complete, and at daybreak on the morning of the 9th of April, a fire from the French and English batteries was opened upon that terrible fortress,* such as the annals of the world present no parallel to. The cannonade of the 17th of October had been a failure; but it was hoped that this, on a scale so much larger, would be so far successful as to render an assault prudent. We are at a loss to discover how such anticipations should have been entertained, though it appears they existed. Seven months had the siege continued since the first bombardment, and there stood the proud towers of

Sebastopol, so fenced round with formidable earthworks as to be stronger than before. Calmer minds looked on with sadder feelings, and in a fresh bombardment anticipated a fresh failure. Plainly, some new mode of attack was necessary, some subtle stratagem was required, or the application of some of those terrible inventions by which it is said that, in time, science will annihilate war. Lord Dundonald—no dreamer, but an able practical man—had urged upon the government the acceptance of an offer, on his part, of a secret means of instantly destroying Sebastopol and the army within it.† True, this might be a mistake on the part of Lord Dundonald;

* The *Times* related the following interesting anecdote respecting the person who placed Sebastopol in a condition to resist the efforts of the allies:

—"The name of the head engineer at Sebastopol is Todleben. He is thirty-two years of age. His parents are poor shopkeepers in Riga. When the siege commenced, Prince Mentschikoff, it is said, asked the then head engineer how long it would take to put the place in a state of defence. He answered, 'Two months.' A young captain, named Todleben, stepped forward and said he would undertake to do it, if he had as many men as he required, in two weeks. He did it in twelve days, and was made colonel. Since that time he has had the direction of everything in the way of building batteries, defences, &c. The other day the grand dukes called upon his wife, who is residing in St. Petersburg, to congratulate her upon her husband's promotion; for he is now (May, 1855) general and aide-

de-camp to the emperor. Is anything more wanted to explain the painful discrepancy between what has been done by the Russians and by the allies? The former will be bound by no ties of seniority or class; they take the man that will do his work best, and they get it the best done."

† On the 4th of May, Mr. French brought the subject of Lord Dundonald's invention before the House of Commons. That gentleman observed—"Lord Dundonald had distinguished himself by his exploits in the Basque-roads and the Bay of Callao, and on other occasions; and he would venture to say, that in respect of scientific acquirements, professional knowledge, and personal gallantry, the noble lord had not a superior, if indeed he had an equal, among living men. One of Lord Dundonald's most uncompromising political opponents, Sir A. Alison, speaking of him under his earlier title as Lord Cochrane, said that he was, after the death of

but, on the other hand, it might be successful. Ordinary means of reducing Sebastopol had failed; why not attempt extraordinary ones? Whether the proceeding was according to rule or not, matters little; the question to be solved being, was there any probability of its success? No new discovery, no new application of the powers of nature, no new scientific revelation can be expected to be in accordance with our preconceived ideas and with the routine of established systems. The old is for ever changing, passing away, and merging into the new; and that which is so rigidly conservative in its structure that it cannot, or will not, submit to the law of progress, must perish. Forms of government, military systems, churches and schools, are no exceptions to this immutable law. They must suffer themselves to be carried forward on the broad stream of eternal change, or sink beneath its bosom. In that word "change" is the secret of existence. Change is life; a cessation of it, whether to a person or an institution, is putrescence and death—a death, too, from which, in the case of institutions, there is no resurrection. But

Nelson, the greatest naval commander of that age of glory—equal to his great predecessor in personal gallantry, enthusiastic ardour, and devotion to his country, and perhaps his superior in original genius, in mental power, and inexhaustible resources. The plan of the noble lord had long been considered and well matured. So far back as the reign of George IV., at the request of that sovereign, Lord Dundonald's plan was submitted to admirals Lord Exmouth and Keith, and such was their opinion of the terrific efficiency of the noble earl's invention, that they expressed their opinion that, for the welfare of the human race, it was advisable that the noble lord should carry his secret to the grave. The noble lord at that time acquiesced in this view; but last year, seeing the predicament in which his country was placed, and being anxious to promote the cause of civilisation against barbarism, he tendered his plan and his personal services to the late government without fee or reward. He at the same time offered his services to go to the Baltic and destroy Cronstadt. To these tenders he got *no answer*, but a reference was made to three admirals and two scientific persons. These admirals were of opinion that at present it was not expedient to carry the plan into effect; but he believed the scientific men gave it as their opinion, that the force employed by the noble and gallant lord would be perfectly irresistible. On the return of Sir Charles Napier from the Baltic, the plans were shown to him, and, after giving them the fullest consideration, he came to the conclusion, as he was informed, that the noble lord was able to carry out everything that he undertook to accomplish. It was in these circumstances that he now wished to put a question to the government. The government might, on the ground of the high reputation of Lord Dundonald, have safely availed them-

with respect to the proposed plan, the British ministry stood doubtfully aloof, and feared that Lord Dundonald's plans were visionary.

The night preceding the 9th of April (the day fixed for the recommencement of the bombardment), was dark and misty, the wind blew a gale, and the rain poured down in floods. The weather was not favourable for the attack, and towards morning it became even worse. The ground had again been turned into sticky black mud, and a thick dull mist overhung the camp and the towers of Sebastopol. Towards the front of the lines profound silence reigned in the camps, when, about a quarter-past five, three guns roared out sullenly in the dim morning air. This was the anticipated signal; and instantly, from the little mounds and hillocks near Inkermann—from the broad commanding positions of Green Hill and Gordon's batteries—from quiet picturesque ravines, where no one dreamt of guns lurking, high from the rear on steep and lofty ridges, and away down to the left where the French works stretch out, over low marsh lands to Kamiesch—from every point

selves of the plans which he had submitted to them; but they had forced him to divulge those plans to seven or eight persons, and it might possibly be, that the first experiment they heard of them would be in the destruction of our own forces. If the noble lord (Palmerston) would state that the government were determined not to give a trial to the plans of the noble and gallant admiral, it would be easy for him to appeal to the country, and to obtain a sum of money sufficient to enable him to carry out those plans, in defiance of the apathy and indifference of the government. The question he had to put was, what steps had been taken, and what decision, if any, had been come to in relation to the proposal made by the Earl of Dundonald for the destruction of the Russian fortresses?"

Lord Palmerston observed, in reply to Mr. French:—"No man can entertain a higher opinion than I do of Lord Dundonald. I have had the honour of his acquaintance for a number of years. He stands as high as any man ever did stand in his profession, with regard to naval affairs: he is a man, moreover, of great and extensive scientific attainments; and, therefore, any opinion deliberately entertained by him is entitled to the highest and fullest consideration by the government. The plan which Lord Dundonald proposed was necessarily submitted to the consideration of a certain number of professional and scientific persons; and the effect of their inquiries and consideration was, that there appeared to be such difficulties and such doubtful expectations as to the result, that nothing was then done upon it. The plan has recently been again pressed on the consideration of the government by Lord Dundonald. The matter is still under their consideration, and is far from being so free from doubts and difficulties as my honourable friend seems to imagine."

of our lines the iron mouths bellowed forth thunder, flame, and death.

The enemy was taken by surprise, and for some minutes not a Russian gun replied to the tremendous salvo with which they had been greeted. They soon, however, recovered themselves, though it was an hour before they got their batteries into full play. Through the gloom and twilight, through the mist and rain, hour after hour the bombardment went on. So thick was the air that it was impossible from the heights to distinguish the fire of our nearest battery; and as the wind swept from the camp towards Sebastopol, the sound of the firing was almost lost in the dead murky atmosphere and the incessant rush of rain. Sometimes, so strange a quietness prevailed in the almost deserted camp, that it seemed quite impossible to realise the fact that a struggle, in which not only the reputation, but the very existence of the troops engaged, was taking place within half a mile of our lines, and that 154 English, upwards of 200 French, and between seven and eight hundred Russian guns and mortars were firing away as fast as they could be loaded. Early in the morning our batteries were firing from seventy to eighty shots a minute, but this tremendous fire was soon slackened, and reduced to about twenty-five or thirty shots a minute.

About seven in the evening the fire of the allies ceased, or rather, ceased in comparison with the manner it had been kept up during the day; for the bombardment was maintained by firing a shell every ten minutes throughout the night. What was the result of this first day of the second great cannonade? Lord Raglan's despatch informs us that the rain, wind, and mist "rendered it impossible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the effect of the fire which had been continued from the commencement, and been superior to that of the enemy." Mr. Russell, in his description, is scarcely more definite: he gave a striking picture—one that deserves to be transferred to the artist's canvas; but little information. "It was," said he, "almost as dark as night. About five o'clock the sun slowly descended into a rift in the dark gray pall which covered the sky, and cast a pale-yellow slice of light, barred here and there by columns of rain and masses of curling vapour, across the line of batteries. The outlines of the town, faintly rendered through the mists of smoke and rain, seemed

quivering inside the circling lines of fire around and from them, but they were *the same familiar outlines so well known to us for the last seven months*—the same green cupola and troops, and long streets and ruined suburbs, the same dockyard buildings, and dark trenches and batteries. The little details of ruin and destruction which must have taken place after to-day's fire *could not be ascertained!* The eye of painter never rested on a more extraordinary effect, and his art alone could have rendered justice to the scene which shone out on us for a moment, as the sickly sun, flattened out, as it were, between bars of cloud and rain, seemed to have forced its way through the leaden sky to cast one straightened look on the conflict which raged below. The plateau beneath our standing-place was lighted up by incessant flashes of light, and long trails of white smoke streamed across it, sporting up in thick masses, tinged with fire, for a moment, till they were whirled away in broader volumes by the wind. In the deep glow of the parting gleam of sunset, the only image suggested to me calculated to convey the actual effect of the fire of the batteries to our friends at home, was a vision of the potteries' district as it is seen at night, all fervid with fire and pillars of smoke, out of the windows of an express-train."

In plain language, this day's bombardment, like that of the 17th of October, was a *failure*. Admitting, as is probably the case, that the advantage of fire at the close of the day remained with the allies, still it was evident that no great result had been gained; and that the most destructive efforts of the combined artillery of France and England, were unable to batter down the proud symbol of Russian power.

The bombardment continued, though with abated fury, during a period of twelve days; then it was suspended, and the idea of an assault abandoned for the time being. Ton after ton of shot was hurled against the fortress; an occasional, but undecisive superiority of fire was obtained; the parapets of the Redan and Round Tower were jagged, and pitted with holes several feet deep; but the real strength of the place remained unimpaired. That which was injured in the day the Russians repaired, as if by magic, during the night. The particulars of this twelve days' bombardment are wearisome, from the similarity they bear to events we have already described. The same wasted

energy, the same night skirmishes without effect,* the same battering and repairing, the same unwearied exertions on the part of the allies, and wonderful endurance and resistance on the part of the Russians, together with, on each side, the same loss of life and frightful mutilations.

The French batteries were, however, more persevering than the English, though without obtaining the desired result. Our own cannonade, indeed, rather died out slowly than ceased on a particular day. On the 27th of April, Mr. Russell wrote—"Our batteries are nearly silent; a few guns and mortars reply to an occasional shot from the Redan and Round Tower at long intervals, and there seems to be a ship behind the Round Tower, which harasses our right attack by an odd shell now and then. What a contrast to the French on our left and even on our right! They have never ceased to fire, and the Russians return shot for shot from the mass of ruins and rubbish in which their batteries are enveloped. The day before yesterday the enemy opened a new battery, which is up among the houses of the town, on a ridge near the governor's house, and directed a very heavy fire on the French, with a diversion now and then on the left of our left attack. In the right attack yesterday we had two gunners killed and the platforms of two guns broken; but although these batteries have all been severely handled, they have reduced the fire of the Mamelon and of the Round Tower with great success. Still we must give the French every praise for the perseverance of their attack, deprived as they have been of their fair share of support from our fire for some days back. They have certainly atoned for their failure on the 17th of October, which was caused by the melancholy accidents to their magazines. There are mysterious whispers that we shall open fire again in a few days, with an allowance of one hundred rounds a-gun per diem. A supply of some useful 56 and a few 68-pounder guns has been brought up from Balaklava to

* To describe these matters correctly is, in most instances, an impossibility. On this point, Mr. Russell has these truthful observations:—"I need not say that all minute descriptions of charges at night, or of the general operations are not trustworthy, and must be the mere work of the imagination. Each man fancies that the little party he is with bears the whole brunt of the work, and does all the duty of repulsing the enemy; and any one who takes his narrative from such sources will be sure to fall into errors innumerable. To describe a night attack or any operation—a sortie or an advance—is a sole-

the batteries, and considerable additions have been made to our armament. A moderate supply of 13-inch bomb fuses has been raked together, and, if promises are to be trusted, we really shall effect great things on this the *third* commencement of the siege."

During this period, Omar Pasha and 15,000 of the Turkish and Egyptian soldiers left Eupatoria for the camp before Sebastopol, and took up their position on the heights above Kamiesch. It was anticipated that they would prove a valuable addition to the allied armies—protect Balaklava, and perform essential service, either in a partial assault of the town, or in operations in the field. They were thus described by Mr. Russell:—"Finer young fellows than some of the soldiers of the crack regiments I never saw. Very few of the privates wore decorations or medals, but many of the officers had them, and had evidently seen service against the Muscovite. They had had a long march, and their sandal shoon afforded sorry protection against the stony ground; and yet it was astonishing that so few men fell out of the ranks or straggled behind. One regiment had a good brass band, which almost alarmed the bystanders by striking up a quick step (waltz) as they marched past, and playing it in very excellent style; but the majority of the regiments were preceded by musicians with drums, fifes, and semi-circular thin brass tubes, with wide mouths, such as those which may have tumbled the walls of Jericho, or are seen on the sculptured monuments of primeval kings. The colonel and his two majors rode at the head of each regiment, richly dressed, on small but spirited horses, covered with rich saddle-cloths, and followed by pipe-bearers and servants. The mules with the tents, marched on the right; the artillery marched on the left. The two batteries I saw consisted each of four 24-pounder brass howitzers, and two 9-pounder brass field-pieces, and the carriages and horses were in a very serviceable state. Each gun was drawn by six cism. From the batteries or the hills behind them one can see the flashes flickering through the darkness, and can hear the shouts of the men; but this is all: were he a combatant he would see and hear less than the spectator. Distrust, then, all 'full and true particulars' of nocturnal engagements, and be content with learning results. Nothing affords finer scope for the exercise of the fancy than one of these fights in the dark: it is easy to imagine all sorts of incidents, to narrate the mode of advance, of attack, of resistance, of retreat, or of capture; but the recital will be found very inconsistent with the fact."

horses. The ammunition boxes were rather coarse and heavy. The baggage animals of the division marched in the rear, and the regiments marched in columns of companies three deep, each company on an average with a front of twenty rank and file. One of the regiments had Minié rifles of English make; the majority, however, were only armed with flint firelocks, but they were very clean and bright. They all displayed rich standards, blazing with cloth of gold, and many-coloured flags with the crescent and star embroidered on them. All the men carried their blankets, squares of carpet for prayer and sitting upon, and cooking utensils, and their packs were of various sizes and substances. As they marched along in the sunlight over the undulating ground, they presented a very picturesque and warlike spectacle, the stern reality of which was enhanced by the thunder of the guns at Sebastopol, and the smoke-wreaths from shells bursting high in the air." In addition to these Turkish forces in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, a French army of reserve, amounting to 30,000 men, and continually increasing, was assembled at Pera, on the banks of the Bosphorus. The Turks, however, soon returned to Eupatoria, without seeing any active service.

On the 19th of April, the Russian rifle pits in advance of the English trenches were attacked, and carried by assault in the most gallant manner by a detachment of the 77th regiment under Colonel Egerton, who lost his life while in the execution of his duty. "The resistance of the enemy," said Lord Raglan's despatch, "although obstinate, was speedily overcome by the impetuosity of our troops, and the pit, which it was desirable to retain, was, without the loss of a moment, connected with our approach, and thereby furnished protection to the working party to continue its labours without interruption for a considerable time. At the interval, however, of about three hours, the enemy brought a heavy fire of artillery and musketry upon the party in advance of the pit, into which they retired, and which they effectually defended and maintained; but this brilliant achievement was not accomplished without considerable loss of life."

This affair was followed by one more productive of benefit. During the night of the 2nd of May, a sharp engagement took place in front and on the left attack; the whole of the Russian rifle pits were taken, together with eight light mortars and 200

prisoners. The attack was made by seven battalions of French infantry, who advanced about midnight and seized on the Russian ambuscades in defiance of a heavy fire. A great force of Russians came out to meet them, and a terrible conflict ensued, in which the French made repeated bayonet charges. Having forced the Russians back into the works, they followed them, stormed the outworks of the central battery, and carried off the eight mortars or cohorns. In this brilliant affair, which lasted for two hours, the French suffered considerably. They had sixty-three killed and 210 wounded, and nine officers put *hors de combat*. About four o'clock the following day, a body of the enemy, estimated at 2,000 men, rushed desperately out of the works close to the central battery, and, with a loud cheer, dashed upon the French advance. The latter were for a moment driven out of their imperfect works, but they were soon reinforced, and the Russians driven back by the bayonet, and compelled to seek for safety by flight behind their intrenchments, which protected them from pursuit by a heavy cannonade and volleys of grape. The loss of the French was trifling; that of the Russians was more severe, and several of their officers and men were taken prisoners.

Other petty actions or skirmishes took place during May, which are scarcely of sufficient importance to particularise. Early on the morning of the 10th, the camp was roused by a heavy fire of musketry along our right attack. "There is," said Mr. Russell, "an earnestness and reality about the musketry on such occasions, which has a language of its own that cannot be mistaken. The regularity and precision of the *feu de joie*, the platoon or file-firing of our reviews, have little kin with the passionate, intense, and startling bursts of rifle and musket, and give but an imperfect notion of the deadly rattle and fitful roll of small arms in action, where every man is loading and firing as rapidly as he can, and where the formation of the line is altering every moment. For a mile and a-half the darkness was broken by outburst of ruddy flame and bright glittering sparks, which advanced, receded, died out altogether, broke out fiercely in patches in innumerable twinkles, flickered in long lines like the electric flash along a chain, and formed for an instant craters of fire." After a struggle of about two hours, the Russians were, as usual, driven back to their own lines, and

protected in their retreat by a fire from their batteries. These sorties were repeated on the 11th and the 14th, but on each occasion with the same result.

On the 12th of May, the whole reserve of French troops at Moslak, in the dominions of the sultan, were reviewed by that potentate, and the next day 30,000 of them embarked and sailed from the Bosphorus to Kamiesch. The allied forces were thus raised to upwards of 200,000 men. Of these, 30,000 consisted of British, 15,000 of Sardinians, 50,000 of Turks (at Eupatoria), and the remainder of French. With such a force it was anticipated that measures of a decisive character would soon be taken against the Russians. The appearance of Abdul Medjid at the review is thus described by a spectator:—"The sultan was, as usual, worn and spiritless; the stoop of his emaciated frame, the pallor of his withered countenance, indicated a man of middle age, rather than one in the prime of life, who has not completed his thirty-second year. The saddle on which he rides adds to the feebleness of his appearance. It is shaped like a chair, and compels him to bend forward in a manner neither comfortable nor graceful. What his thoughts may have been it is not easy to divine: the nature of a Turk is not our nature; but the feelings of an European monarch on seeing so large and formidable a force established on his own soil, would be those of apprehension and painful obligation."

While this was the state of affairs in the Crimea, the patriotism and nationality of the people were deeply stirred in England. Increased taxes had been cheerfully submitted to, subscriptions of all kinds for the benefit of the soldiers had been poured forth with a wonderful prodigality, and one heart seemed to animate the nation for the support of the war: still statements of mismanagement continually turned up; and it was seen, both abroad and at home, incompetence and want of reflection led to fearful evil—evils of a character so serious as to impede the prosperity and impair the reputation of the empire. Under these circumstances, an agitation was commenced by certain members of the middle classes, chiefly merchants and traders of the metropolis, for the purpose of organising an association to promote a thorough reform in the various departments of the state. The first meeting was held on Saturday, the 5th of May, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-

street. The object instantly met the approving sympathy of the reflective part of society; and considerably before the hour appointed for the commencement of the proceedings, the large room, said to be capable of containing as many as 1,500 persons, was filled to overflowing, and hundreds of persons, including many members of parliament, unable to obtain admission. Mr. Samuel Morley took the chair; and, together with Mr. Travers, Mr. Gassiot, Mr. Powles, Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., Mr. Baker, Mr. Bennoch, and others, addressed the meeting. In the course of a long speech, the chairman said, the aristocracy had as much right to a share in the government as any other class, but only as they exhibited the sterling qualities of honesty and efficiency. The assemblage of that day had no direct connexion with the question of the war; but the hideous disclosure of mismanagement which the history of that war revealed, seemed to identify the movement with the contest with Russia; and even when that contest was over, the all-important question would recur, "How are we to be governed?" Let them go to any one of the public departments they pleased, and if they chanced to meet the head of it without his intelligent underling at his elbow to cram him, they would find him displaying an amount of gross ignorance, incompetence, and superciliousness about any given subject, which were actually eating into the very heart of the country, undermining its greatness, and would, if continued, be its ruin.

The following resolutions were put and unanimously carried; the first being moved by Mr. J. I. Travers, and the second by Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P.:—"The disasters to which the country has been subjected in the conduct of the present war, are attributable to the inefficient and practically irresponsible management of the various departments of the state, and urgently demand a thorough change in the administrative system." The second motion was to the effect, "That the true remedy for the system of maladministration which has caused so lamentable a sacrifice of labour, money, and human life, is to be sought in the introduction of enlarged experience and practical ability into the service of the state; that the exclusion from office of those who possess, in a high degree, the practical qualities necessary for the direction of affairs in a great commercial country, is a reflect-

tion upon its intelligence and a betrayal of its interests; that, while we disclaim every desire of excluding the aristocratic classes from participation in the councils of the crown, we feel it to be our duty to protest against the pretensions of any section of the community to monopolise the functions of administration." Before the meeting separated, an association was formed for the promotion of ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM, and five-and-twenty gentlemen in the room at once put down their names for a subscription of a hundred pounds each in aid of its object. Thus was commenced an agitation which effected wholesome work, and which was, in effect, the sequel of the parliamentary inquiry concerning the condition of our troops at Sebastopol, and what had brought them into that condition. Administrative incompetence had brought down those evils upon the soldiers and the nation; administrative reform, therefore, seemed its natural and inevitable remedy. Another class of politicians considered, that to reform the executive merely, was but to treat a symptom while the seat of the disease remained untouched. *Parliamentary reform*, they contended, was the only certain remedy for the national wounds; and if that were effected, a better executive must inevitably follow.

A war medal had been prepared for presentation to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who had returned from the Crimea invalided or wounded. Her majesty, always ready in any way to alleviate the miseries, or reward the bravery of her troops, signified her intention of personally distributing the medals on the square of the Horse-Guards, on Friday, the 18th of May. In consequence of this, a general desire to witness the ceremony spread through all classes in the metropolis. Galleries were accordingly erected for the members of the houses of Lords and Commons, for the families of the officers participating in the ceremony, and for the families and friends of members of the government. In addition to these arrangements, a capacious balcony, projecting from the lower central windows of the Horse-Guards, and handsomely festooned with scarlet cloth, was constructed for the members of the royal family. Between nine and ten, the galleries, which were all covered with crimson cloth, were filled with a brilliant and fashionable assembly, attired in costumes of the gayest hues. The most

attractive part of the scene, however, was an assemblage on the parade, near the Horse-Guards, of some hundred officers of every rank and arm in the service, wearing the full uniform of their regiments, and decorated with all the stars, medals, ribands, crosses, and orders which had been bestowed upon them. Beyond the barriers, and at every point from which anything could be seen, a mass of human beings swayed backward and forward like a living undulating sea.

Four flank companies of the grenadier guards, two of the Coldstream guards, and two of the fusileer guards, marched upon the parade, with their bands, at nine o'clock, and took up the position they usually occupy upon royal birthdays. In the rear of the foot-guards were drawn up the non-commissioned officers and men who were to receive the medals, and also detachments, who witnessed the spectacle as representatives of the regiments in the Crimea. Shortly afterwards, the band of the royal marines marched through the Horse-Guards from Whitehall, followed by the officers and seamen of the royal navy, and the officers and men of the royal marines, who were to receive medals.

Her majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, several members of the royal family, and a brilliant suite, entered the parade from Whitehall at eleven o'clock, amid the cheers of the multitude and the thunder of cannon. The Duke of Cambridge, who had the command of the parade, ordered the line of invalided and wounded soldiers forward, until it arrived at the distance of one hundred feet from the *dais*, when the word "halt" was given, and the queen stood face to face with her brave soldiers of the Crimea. The presence of royalty checked any strong expression of feeling, but a murmur of applause ran round the countless assemblage at the sight of the gallant and mutilated band who had poured out their blood like water in sustaining the honour of the country. The officers and soldiers then passed before the queen in single file, the band playing the coronation march from the *Prophète*. Each man, as he arrived at the left side of the *dais*, handed to Major-general Wetherall a card, containing his name and rank; and, if he had been wounded, at what battle the injury was sustained. These particulars were read out by the adjutant-general, for the information of the queen and court. The minister for

war then handed the medals successively to her majesty, who, with the sweetest grace and dignity, bestowed them upon the recipients. The Duke of Cambridge, Colonel Macdonald (his aide-de-camp), the Earl of Lucan, the Earl of Cardigan, General Scarlett, General Sir J. Burgoyne, and General Torrens, were among the first; after them followed the officers of minor rank, and the privates. "It is impossible," said a spectator, "to describe the mingled sensations of admiration and pity which went like an electric thrill through the vast multitude as they saw that line of heroes, whose gaunt and pallid forms, scarred features, and maimed and mutilated limbs, told alike the story of their bravery, and of their manly endurance of horrible and heart-rending suffering and privation. Many of those who hobbled upon crutches, or walked painfully with the assistance of a stick, wore upon their arms the emblems of mourning for some brother or near relative, now reposing on the hill-side at Balaklava, or in the hospital graveyard at Scutari. To every one of the wounded, whether soldiers or officers, her majesty said some kind word, or asked some gracious question. Many of the poor fellows were almost overcome by their emotion, and by the sweetness of her majesty's condescension; and many a moistened eye upon the royal *dais* bore witness to the intimate sympathy that exists between the palace and the camp. A few of the private soldiers appeared to lose their self-possession for a moment, on finding themselves thus brought into the very presence of the 'divinity that doth hedge a king;' but, for the most part, the brave fellows exhibited a simple gratitude and manly self-respect which did them infinite honour."

Three officers were wheeled past the queen in Bath chairs. The first of these was Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had lost both his feet in action. Her majesty leant over the chair of the maimed veteran as she gave him his medal, and at the same time bestowed on him the honour of being her aide-de-camp. Captain Sayer, of the 23rd fusiliers, and Captain Currie, of the 19th foot, were the other of these brave sufferers. As the highland regiments passed by their sovereign, the band played the "Blue Bells of Scotland" and "Whar hae ye bin a' day?" The noble, stalwart forms of these men attracted general notice. It was observed that, upon many faces, the lines of suffering yet remained;

and here and there might be seen traces of that resentful rigidity of face, and that fierce and sullen despair in their dark eyes, which those who saw them lying in their blankets in the hospital at Scutari have depicted with such graphic power. The royal navy and marines were the last to receive the medals; and of every seaman that had been wounded, the queen made such earnest and kind inquiries, as greatly delighted the rough honest tars. Some military evolutions concluded this interesting pageant; the royal carriages drove up, the band pealed forth "God save the Queen," and her majesty left the ground amid the cheers of the people. The non-commissioned officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines, in number about four hundred and fifty, then proceeded to the Queen's Riding-school, Pimlico, where a substantial repast had been prepared for them. During the dinner, her majesty, accompanied by her husband and the Prince of Wales, delighted them by a visit. Such acts of kindness and womanly sympathy for those who had suffered in the cause of their country, planted still deeper in the hearts of Englishmen the affection they entertained for their sovereign. "If," said a public journalist, in commenting upon this national ovation of a great people to its suffering heroes, "if the strains of martial music and the unwonted sunshine that surrounded the whole scene might impart a festive look scarcely in character with the wan checks, halting gait, and mutilated forms of the heroes of the day, there was the sobering thought that elsewhere the battle was still raging, the messengers of death were still flying, the lists of honour were still augmenting—other titles were being added to Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann, and possibly triumph, possibly disaster, awarded at length to the gallant survivors of the long and fearful struggle."

While we are speaking of events that occurred at home in connexion with the war, we wish to make a passing allusion to a speech made by that brilliant, though strongly conservative historical writer, Sir Archibald Alison, on the 22nd of May, at the anniversary meeting of the Royal Literary Fund. The opinion of such a man (so profoundly versed in the study of modern history), as to the ultimate issue of the struggle distracting Europe, is extremely valuable. "With regard," he said, "to the military events that were now occur-

ring, and the various circumstances that were being enacted, he would venture to make one prophecy; and that was, that if England and France *remained united*, they would conquer in the struggle that was now going on. He said this from no light grounds. From the earliest dawn of history—anterior even to the times of feudality—one great war had prevailed in the world between the East and the West; and if they looked back to the progress of that war, they would see that Europe never failed to succeed when its powers remained united. When the Athenians and the Lacedonians remained united, they conquered; so also did England and France conquer the armies of Saladin so long as they remained attached to each other; and if England and France had remained united, and had not been dissevered by jealousies, they would have conquered Jerusalem, and the armies of the Turks would have been hurled back. The armies of Europe had always prevailed over the armies of Asia. The armies of freemen had always prevailed over the armies of slaves; and therefore was it that he prophesied that, if France and England maintained a firm union with each other, they must succeed in the contest in which they were now engaged. They all lamented the losses which they had sustained in this war. He had two sons engaged in the army under Lord Raglan; but great as was the loss of the British army, they knew, upon the highest authority, that the loss on the part of Russia had not been less than 240,000 men.* England not only possessed the moral power, but the physical power, also, to subdue her enemy; and all that was required was, that no difficulties or dangers should be allowed to be an obstacle in the way of that moral and physical power, until the barbaric tyranny against which they were contending was destroyed."

* The venerable Marquis of Lansdowne, during a debate on the conduct of the war in the House of Lords on the 14th of May, made the following observations on the Russian losses; and it was to them that Sir Archibald Alison referred:—"In a great war, sufferings and losses must necessarily be inflicted, to a greater or less degree, on each party. Why, the noble earl (the Earl of Derby) himself announced that this would be a great, formidable, and difficult war, and that it would be attended with great sacrifices. If it has been, at least it affords us a melancholy satisfaction that the loss, and destruction, and misery inflicted on the Russians have been threefold that inflicted on the whole army of the allies. The noble earl has some idea, perhaps, of

On the 18th of May, it was announced in Paris that General Canrobert had resigned the high post of commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea. On the 16th he had forwarded the following despatch to the emperor:—"My shattered health no longer allowing me to continue in the chief command, my duty towards my sovereign and my country compels me to ask you to transfer the command to General Pelissier, a skilful and experienced leader. The army which I leave with him is intact, hardened to war, full of ardour and confidence. I beseech the emperor to leave me a soldier's place, as commander of a simple division." On the same day the minister of war returned the following reply:—"The emperor accepts your resignation. He regrets that your health has suffered; he congratulates you upon the sentiment which makes you ask to remain with the army, where you shall have the command, not of a division, but of the corps of General Pelissier. Hand over the chief command to that general." It was very generally understood that this resignation and its acceptance had been pre-arranged, and that the reason assigned for it—that of ill-health—was a mere pretext. General Canrobert was an active, brave, honourable, and highly meritorious officer; but it was presumed that his military genius and power of enterprise were hardly equal to the extremely trying position in which he was placed. The self-denying spirit in which he tendered the resignation of a post he felt he could not fill to the highest advantage of his country, was extremely honourable to him.

General Pelissier, thus exalted to the chief command, was an older man than Canrobert. He was reported to be stern and vehement in character, possessed of fertility of invention and indomitable courage, and was regarded as one of the most emi-

the extent to which that loss has gone; that, if our troops have suffered from want of clothing, of habitations, of the means of transport, the Russians have suffered ten times more; but I should astonish your lordships by stating what the amount of that loss to the enemy has been. I have here a statement, as to which I can mention no names, but which is one made on the very highest authority; and from this it appears that a few days before the death of the Emperor Nicholas, a return was made up, stating that 170,000 Russians had died; and according to a supplementary return, furnished some days later, 70,000 were added to the list; making a total loss of 240,000 men!" This terrible statement created, at the time, a profound sensation.

nent of the French officers who had served in the African wars, which he carried on with more than ordinary cruelty against the Arab tribes. In short, he was a rough soldier, careless about courtesies, and imbued with the ideas natural to a man familiar with camp life in the African deserts. He did not form part of the French army that landed on the shores of the Crimea on the 14th of September, 1854, but had joined it during the following winter, and since that period had been in command of one of the principal French corps engaged in the siege. The appointment of General Pelissier to the chief command was understood as an indication that proceedings of a more vigorous and decided character were in contemplation. All eyes had hitherto been turned to him; and it is said that he was, in reality, the general of the army even before his appointment.

"With respect to General Canrobert," said a writer from Paris, "the information since received, fully confirms the opinion I have expressed. His retirement from the command-in-chief had become indispensable. His methodical and prudent character was not in harmony with the state of the army. The army had become impatient, and he possessed the contrary virtue, perhaps, to excess; it attributed every fault to its chief, and the general had become the object of its suspicion, and even of its dislike. Everything that went wrong was attributed to him; he was blamed for what was done and for what was left undone. His prudence was called weakness; he was accused of incapacity, if not of worse; he began to lose his authority, and his presence at the head of his army would have soon endangered its chance of success, and destroyed what yet remained of the spirit of discipline. There was, perhaps, some exaggeration in all this; but, right or wrong, such was the feeling. In the same degree that the French army was dissatisfied with its general-in-chief, it is proud and happy in its new commander, and his presence has revived its spirit and its confidence. He is endeared to them by his good qualities; and even his defects are in accordance with the present disposition of the troops, and the passions which agitate them. If General Canrobert is hesitating and over-prudent, General Pelissier knows not what doubt or hesitation means; he is intrepid, bold, and audacious. He is of a character that brooks no delay, recoils at no

obstacle; the slowness of the siege does not suit his fiery temper; and it is a matter of indifference to him what men are lost in a *coup-de-main*, provided it succeeds. As he is as regardless of his own life as of that of others, and as he is always, by day and by night, as foremost in danger as a young sub-lieutenant who longs for the cross of honour and for promotion, no one thinks it extraordinary, or deserving of blame, that he is as reckless of others as he is of his own person. These are the qualities which distinguish him and make him popular. He is as great a favourite with the army as his predecessor was the contrary; and as it is, in point of fact, the army which removed General Canrobert, so it is the army which named General Pelissier. The emperor could no more have given it to any other chief than he could have continued General Canrobert in the command. General Pelissier has won the admiration of the men by his incomparable bravery, his intelligence, and determination. Whatever has been done by the French worthy of notice since the days of Alma and Inkermann, is due to him; it is he who has ever taken the initiative, and who has acted sometimes in spite of the order of General Canrobert."

It had for some time been a matter of surprise to reflective politicians, why the united squadrons maintained by France and England in the Black Sea (which, as the Russian ships would not come out of Sebastopol and fight them, had but little to do), did not pay a visit to the straits of Kertch, and penetrate into the Sea of Azoff. It seemed as if, from a mistaken generosity on the part of our ministry, or from a secret desire to spare Russia (a motive which, in some quarters, Lord Palmerston was strongly suspected of entertaining), the allies had proceeded against the most formidable points of the Russian empire, and spared the weakest. At length proceedings were taken to remedy this oversight, or cancel this suspicious forbearance. On the 3rd of May, about forty vessels, with a division of the allied armies, amounting to nearly 12,000 men, put out to sea, and proceeded in a north-easterly direction along the coast until it reached the straits of Kertch. Just as it arrived at the point of its destination, an express steamer approached with orders from General Canrobert that it should immediately return! These orders were sent by the French general in consequence of a communication from Paris, which rendered

it incumbent on him to concentrate the forces under his command in the Chersonese. The news of the expedition had been received with enthusiasm in both camps, and the mortification of admirals Bruat and Lyons, shared in by all their officers and men, is scarcely to be expressed. The orders, however, were unmistakable and imperative; and, with feelings of the bitterest disappointment, the expedition returned, and arrived back at Kamiesch Bay on the 8th of May. In explanation of this strange command, which, by recalling the allied squadron, gave the Russians time to prepare for the meditated attack, it is suggested that the Emperor Napoleon was unaware that the expedition had actually sailed, and was close to the place where it was to act, at the time his orders were dispatched. Some persons attributed the recall to a fit of indecision on the part of General Canrobert; but that was probably an unjust surmise. Canrobert may have been without the military genius requisite for a great chieftain, but he was a brave soldier. Whatever was the cause of this command, it was productive of extreme irritation: murmurs arose on every side; and even private soldiers asked if it was possible that people had the imprudence to direct from London or Paris the operations of a campaign so difficult and complicated.

The disappointment of the troops was to some extent alleviated by preparations being shortly afterwards made for a renewal of the expedition. On the 23rd of May it again sailed; the English contingent of the military being under the command of Sir George Brown, as on the first occasion. The troops consisted of 10,000 French, 5,000 Turks, and 3,500 English. The allied fleet consisted of thirty-three English vessels and a French squadron of almost equal power. Some of the newly-arrived Sardinian troops also accompanied the expedition, which included altogether about 20,000 troops. All the men were in the highest spirits; no one doubted the success of the expedition; and great anxiety was shown in either camp to be permitted to join it.

The morning of starting was beautiful, the sea calm and smooth. The voyage was accomplished quickly, and without any incidents that call for remark. At early dawn on the 24th, the birthday of her majesty, the allied fleets assembled off the straits of Kertch. The troops were landed on the beach between the Salt Lake, north of Cape

Kamiesch-Bournou, and the cliff of Ambalaki, under cover of the guns of the steam-frigates. Their expectations of winning distinction in an encounter with the enemy were, however, disappointed; for the Russian troops fled, previously blowing up their fortifications and magazines on both sides the straits. Several tremendous explosions, accompanied by enormous quantities of earth which were hurled into the air, and by huge pillars of white smoke, followed at brief intervals, and seemed by their violence to shake both sea and sky. The Russians could then be seen retreating, some over the hills behind Kertch, others towards Yenikale, an important town about five and a-half miles distant. The business was singularly sudden and rapid; Kertch was in the hands of the allies, and not a man had fallen; while the same day Yenikale also surrendered without a blow. One incident alone diversified the placid course of this easy victory. A Russian steamer ran out of the bay of Kertch, and endeavoured to escape by making for the straits of Yenikale. Lieutenant McKillop, in his gun-boat the *Snake*, dashed after it across the shallows, and just as she passed the Cape, two Russian merchantmen slipped out and made towards Yenikale also. The first vessel, supposed to contain treasure, escaped; the other two were destroyed.

The evening of this successful day is thus described by the almost ubiquitous Mr. Russell, who had contrived to accompany the expedition:—"Dark pillars of smoke, tinged at the base with flame, began to shoot up all over the hill-sides. Some of them rose from the government houses and stores of Ambalaki, where we landed; others from isolated houses further inland; others from stores, which the retreating Russians must have destroyed in their flight. Constant explosions shook the air, and single guns sounded here and there continuously throughout the night. Here a ship lay blazing on the sandbank on the left; a farmhouse in flames lighted up the sky on the right, and obscured the pale moon with volumes of inky smoke. All the troops whose services were required were landed at Ambalaki before dusk, and bivouacked on the ridge about it. Each of our men landed with two days' provisions, but without rum; some of them carried their tents. A small body of Russian cavalry, with two guns, made a *reconnaissance* of them, from a considerable distance, before nightfall, but did not attempt to interfere with their proceed-

ings, and the men set to work to enjoy themselves in Ambalaki and its neighbourhood as well as they could. The French had, however, nearly all the fun to themselves, and our men, as they came down for water to the brackish springs by the sea-shore, grumbled audibly at the precautions which seemed taken for the express purpose of securing everything for the French and Turks. The bulk of the inhabitants had fled, but a few Tartars gave themselves up and received protection. A respectable Russian family, in a very comfortable house a little way from the sea, seemed inclined to follow the same course at first, but, terrified probably by the fires around them, they left before night set in. The enemy did not show in our neighbourhood, and it was reported that all their troops had abandoned both Kertch and Yenikale, and had marched towards the interior. Our cavalry pickets and videttes were not, I believe, disturbed till morning, nor could they see anything of the enemy, who had evidently been greatly disheartened, and had retreated with much precipitation. As there was nothing to be done at sea, the ships being brought to anchor far south of the scene of action with the gun-boats, which still continued, it was resolved to land at the nearest spot, which was about one mile and a-half or two miles from Pavlovskaya battery. A row of half a mile brought us from our anchorage, where the ship lay, in three fathoms, to a beautiful shelving beach, which was exposed, however, only for a few yards, as the rich sward grew close to the brink of the tideless sea. The water at the shore, unaffected by the current, was clear, and it was evident that it abounded in fish. The land rose abruptly, at the distance of 200 yards from the beach, to a ridge parallel to the line of the sea about one hundred feet in height, and the interval between the shore and the ridge was dotted with houses, in patches here and there, through which the French were already running riot, breaking in doors, pursuing hens, smashing windows—in fact, ‘plundering,’ in which they were assisted by all our men who could get away. Towards the Salt Lake some large houses were already in flames, and storehouses were blazing fiercely in the last throes of fire. On the ridge above us the figures of the French and English soldiers, moving about against the horizon, stood sharply out, lighted up by the rays of the setting sun. The highlanders, in little parties, sought about for water, or

took a stray peep after a ‘bit keepsake’ in the houses on their way to the wells, but the French were always before them, and great was the grumbling at the comparative licence allowed to our allies. The houses were clean outside and in—whitewashed neatly, and provided with small well-glazed windows, which were barely adequate, however, to light up the two rooms of which each dwelling consisted, but the heavy sour smell inside was most oppressive and disagreeable; it seemed to proceed from the bags of black bread and vessels of fish-oil which were found in every cabin. Each dwelling had outhouses, stables for cattle, pens, bakeries, and rude agricultural implements outside. The ploughs were admirably described by Virgil, and a reference to *Adams’s Antiquities* will save me a world of trouble in satisfying the curiosity of the farming interest at home. The furniture was all smashed to pieces; the hens and ducks, captives to the bow and spear of the Gaul, were cackling and quacking piteously as they were carried off in bundles from their homes by Zouaves and chasseurs. Every house we entered was ransacked, and every cupboard had a pair of red breeches sticking out of it, and a blue coat inside of it. Vessels of stinking oil, bags of sour bread, casks of flour or ham, wretched clothing, old boots, beds ripped up for treasure, the hideous pictures of saints on paneling or paper which adorn every cottage, with lamps suspended before them, were lying on the floors. Droles dressed themselves in faded pieces of calico dresses or aged finery lying hid in old drawers, and danced about the gardens. One house, which had been occupied as a guardhouse, and was marked on a board over the door ‘No. 7 Kardone,’ was a scene of especial confusion. Its inmates had evidently fled in great disorder, for their great-coats and uniform jackets still lay on the floors, and bags of the black bread filled every corner, as well as an incredible quantity of old boots. A French soldier, who, in his indignation at not finding anything of value, had with great wrath devastated the scanty and nasty-looking furniture, was informing his comrades outside of the atrocities which had been committed, and added, with the most amusing air of virtue in the world, ‘*Ah, Messieurs, Messieurs! ces brigands, ils ont volé tout!*’ No doubt he had settled honourably with the proprietor of a large bundle of living poultry which hung panting over

his shoulders, and which were offered to us on very reasonable terms. Notwithstanding the great richness of the land, little had been done by man to avail himself of its productiveness. I never in my life saw such quantities of weeds or productions of such inexorable ferocity towards pantaloons, or such eccentric flowers of huge dimensions, as the ground outside these cottages bore. The inhabitants were evidently graziers rather than agriculturists. Around every house were piles of a substance like peat, which is made, we were informed, from the dung of cattle, and is used as fuel. The cattle, however, had been all driven away. None were taken that I saw, though the quantity which fed in the fields around must have been very great. Poultry and ducks were, however, captured in abundance, and a party of chasseurs, who had taken a huge wild-looking boar, were in high delight at their fortune, and soon dispatched and cut him up into junks with their swords. There were some thirty or forty houses scattered about the ridge, but all were pretty much alike. The smell was equally disagreeable in all, in spite of whitewash, and we were glad to return from a place which a soldier of the 71st said 'A Glasgae beggar wad na tak a gift o'.'

Fifty new guns, of heavy calibre, from the blown-up Russian forts, fell into the hands of the allies, and this number was soon increased to more than one hundred. The Russians also destroyed three steamers and several other heavily-armed vessels, as well as large quantities of ammunition, provisions, and stores. A part of the military hospital of the town was preserved. That establishment consisted of three buildings connected with each other; two of which were destroyed by the explosion of the batteries. In the hospital thirty Russians were found, nearly all of whom had been wounded at Sebastopol. The enemy fired the magazines close at hand without the slightest regard for these poor creatures. The peninsula had great resources in forage and cattle; and the general commanding the French troops captured 250 oxen and as many sheep, the former of which he distributed between the French and English squadrons. The town of Kertch was at first spared, the only injury inflicted on it being the destruction of a large granary by the Russians, and of the demolition of a foundry by the allies. In this place, which was furnished with new and extensive ma-

chinery, and belonged to an Englishman who was seized, shot, shell, and Minié balls were manufactured. The inhabitants of Kertch offered bread and salt as tokens of submission, and remained in their houses unmolested by the allies. They were mostly well-dressed and respectable, resembling in appearance the inhabitants of a Belgian or German town. Seven small steamers, used for government purposes, were in the port. Three of them were run aground and burnt by the enemy, to save them from falling into the hands of the allies. The other four fled and escaped into the Sea of Azoff, by which they delayed but did not escape their fate. "Had this expedition," said Admiral Lyons, in his despatch, "been deferred but a short time longer, there would have been many and great difficulties to overcome; for the enemy was actively employed in strengthening the sea defences, and in replacing the sunken vessels which had been carried away by the current during the winter months. Of the forty vessels sunk last year some still remain, and a French steamer touched upon one of them yesterday. It appears that the enemy did not succeed in destroying the coals, either at Kertch or Yenikale; so that about 17,000 tons remain, which will be available for our steamers."

The despatch of the French admiral is so clear and free from technicalities, that we will give the whole of it:—

On board the *Montebello*,

Before Kertch, May 26th.

Monsieur le Ministre,—As I had the honour to inform you by my telegraphic despatches of the 22nd and 25th of May, a new expedition to Kertch was resolved upon on the 20th.

The embarkation commenced on the evening of the 21st; the expedition sailed on the 23rd; it landed on the 24th at Kamiesch-Bournou; and on the 25th occupied Yenikale, having passed Kertch, and taken possession of the batteries situated in the vicinity of Ak-Bournou.

On the 25th, Admiral Lyons and myself entered the Sea of Azoff, whence we sent a squadron to Berdiansk and Arabat. It left during the night, and consisted of four French steamers, and ten English steamers, some of which are gun-boats.

The complete success of this expedition, where our troops, led with great decision by general Autemarre, displayed their usual ardour, is also due to the rapidity of its

execution. In this respect I must acquaint your excellency how complete and cordial, under all circumstances, the co-operation of Admiral Lyons has been.

On the very day we cast anchor, the landing of the French troops commenced in order under the direction of Captain Jurien de la Gravière, of the navy, the chief of my staff.

Having assured myself of the promptitude with which the landing of the troops was being effected, I hoisted my flag on board the *Laplace* and proceeded to reconnoitre the batteries of Cape Ak-Bournou, the powder-magazine of which the Russians had already blown up. Perceiving they would be turned, the enemy lost no time in blowing up the others, and evacuating their positions.

Shortly afterwards, an English gun-boat, of a light draught of water, made for Yenikale, to cut out a Russian steamer which had left Kertch, and was trying to gain the Sea of Azoff. A sharp encounter soon commenced between the two vessels, in which the batteries of Yenikale took part. I ordered the *Fulton* to hasten to the aid of the gun-boat, which arrived with all speed at the scene of combat, and had to withstand a very heavy fire. I ordered the *Megère* to support her, and Admiral Lyons on his part also ordered succour to be given to the gun-boat. Nevertheless the enemy's steamer, which we knew had the treasury of Kertch on board, escaped, leaving in our hands two barges containing precious objects and a portion of the military and civil archives. But the confusion of the Russians, attacked unexpectedly by land and sea, became so great that they soon relinquished all thoughts of further resistance, and did not even take care to remove the wounded from Sebastopol, who were in the hospital of the citadel. In the course of the day they had set fire to considerable storehouses they possessed at Kertch. Finally, before evacuating Yenikale, they blew up a powder-magazine, containing about 30,000 kilogrammes of powder; the shock was so great that many houses were destroyed, and vessels anchored ten miles out at sea felt it severely.

To sum up, the enemy has lost up to the present — 160,000 sacks of oats; 360,000 sacks of corn; 100,000 sacks of flour.

A carriage factory and a foundry were burnt down; three steamers, one of which was a war steamer, were sunk by the Russians themselves. Some thirty transport

ships were destroyed and at least as many taken. In the different explosions, about 100,000 kilogrammes of powder were destroyed. A great store of shells and cannon-balls no longer exists.

I shall send your excellency later a statement of the condition of the guns which have fallen into our hands. They are sixty or eighty in number. These guns are highly finished, and of large calibre.

I am, &c.,

BRUAT, Vice-admiral,

Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron.

The little picturesque seaport town of Kertch is described as having rather a grand appearance, and even resembling Naples on a small scale. It has a good harbour, was the quarantine station for the Sea of Azoff, and exported salt, corn, hides, and other commodities. A light and pleasing sketch of it, in connection with the expedition, is contained in the following letter from a French officer who accompanied it:—"At the eastern extremity of the Crimea, between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff, at the point where Europe ends, rises the handsome little town of Kertch, with its 10,000 inhabitants, under a burning sun, but in the centre of the most enchanting country imaginable. Yesterday, the 25th, we traversed this delightful district, to the sound of drums and with matches lighted. We nowhere met a single Russian or a Cossack, but we were met in the most friendly manner by a charming population. This was the first time, during the whole year, that I had seen women and children. It was not, I can assure you, an uninteresting spectacle for eyes accustomed so long to the sunburnt faces of soldiers bearing the harsh stamp of war, privation, and the inclemency of seasons. After marching through the town, we entered the port commanding the straits without striking a blow. The Russians abandoned their fifty guns of the heaviest calibre and some ammunition. This was, no doubt, through forgetfulness; for the moment we came in sight they blew up at least ten powder-magazines. The expeditionary corps, consisting of about 12,000 English, French, and Turks, encamped all round the citadel, which had been evacuated by the enemy. We are going to intrench ourselves strongly, and if the Russians leave us quiet during only four days, our position will be impregnable. From this place we command both

seas, and our flotilla will ferret out and give a good account of the resources with which the city of Sebastopol was so liberally supplied. Our soldiers are in the highest spirits. After having been so cruelly tried on the dreary plateau of the Chersonese, there is now no end to their jesting and singing. You may imagine that the men who contrived to live and install themselves in the arid ravines of Sebastopol, have turned to account all these blessings of Providence. They look upon themselves as real Sardapaluses. They have water, verdure, wood, and shade at discretion, and close at hand. They are literally enchanted with their new situation. Then there is an end to trenches and *entonnoirs*, in which they were exposed at every moment to be killed by cannon-balls, grapeshot, or, what is still worse, by the explosion of mines. Here, no doubt, fatigue and danger will not be wanting, but we now indulge in sweet repose. The rolling of the waves and the rustling of leaves have succeeded to the wearisome roaring of artillery, and, instead of the fetid emanations of the camp, we have the perfumed breezes of the hills of Kertch, which is our Capua."

The result of this bloodless triumph was highly important. It proved that the resources of Russia were overtaken; that that great power was compelled to leave a vulnerable point undefended for lack of means. But that was not all: the Russian merchantmen had taken refuge in the Sea of Azoff; and that inland lake, together with all the towns upon its coasts, and the vessels on its waters, were all at the mercy of the allies. Another, and still more important result, was that the garrison of Sebastopol was thus deprived of a communication through which, it is presumed, it derived a large part of its supplies. Blows of this nature are far more injurious than those dealt by shot or steel. A letter by Admiral Lyons remarked that, shortly before the arrival of the allies, the enemy had commenced sending towards Sebastopol daily convoys of about 15,000 waggons, each containing half a ton weight of grain or flour. General Pelissier observed, that the allies had struck a severe blow against the resources of the Russians and their means of provisioning.

Sir George Brown reached Yenikale on the 25th. Resistance here was scarcely to be anticipated after the fall of Kertch. At this place the inhabitants fled, and it was found impossible altogether to restrain the

troops. Yenikale was set on fire in two places during the day, and considerable exertion was requisite to subdue the flames and prevent its destruction. The houses were broken open, the furniture smashed, and everything of any value carried off by the troops and sailors. The French Zouaves, accustomed to the license of African warfare, were the most active in this respect. Enormous quantities of bedding, clothes, rude furniture, and household chattels were carried off. Certain historical recollections give the French a feeling of bitterness towards the Russians, which added a zest to the work of plunder.

On the 26th of May, the day following that on which Kertch was taken, ten English vessels, under Captain E. M. Lyons (son of the admiral of that name), and four French steamers, under Captain de Sédaiges, crossed the straits, entered the Sea of Azoff, and steered for Arabat and Taganrog. The rapidity of their proceedings, and their destructive character, must have struck the Russians with astonishment and terror. Merchant vessels were chased and destroyed in every direction. Four war-steamers, which had escaped from Kertch, were found run on shore, abandoned, and burnt to the water's edge; from one of them an 8-inch 62-cwt. gun was recovered. Enormous quantities of government stores were destroyed, including corn to the estimated value of £50,000. The town of Berdiansk was first visited, where the allies burnt some coasting vessels and considerable stores of grain. On the morning of the 28th, the squadron arrived off Arabat, the *Swallow* and *Wrangler* having been detached to Genitchi to command the entrance of the Putrid Sea, and the *Curlew* to cruise between Krivaia and Sand Island; and thus prevent vessels escaping by getting up the river Don. The fort of Arabat, which mounted thirty guns, engaged the squadron for an hour and a-half, when its magazine was blown up by a shell. It is presumed that the Russians lost many men, but the allies had but one man wounded. They were, however, unable to follow up this advantage, for the large garrison at Arabat rendered any attempt at landing extremely imprudent. During the three days the allied squadron remained in the Sea of Azoff, it destroyed upwards of one hundred merchant vessels, most of which were laden with provisions for the Russian army in the Crimea.

On the 28th, also, five Russian vessels,

laden with corn, ran into Kertch harbour, in ignorance that the place was in the possession of the allies. They were, of course, immediately captured.

At Arabat, Captain Lyons separated from the French part of the squadron, and proceeded with the English ships to Genitchi. Having arrived there shortly after dark in the evening, Commander Crauford was sent the next morning, with a flag of truce, to demand the immediate surrender of a number of vessels which had passed the straits, and were moored in a protected position by the low cliffs on which the town is built. Coupled with this demand was another for the surrender of the immense corn stores for the supply of the army in the Crimea, and of all government property of every description. If these were complied with, it was added, the town would be spared, and private property respected; if not, the inhabitants were desired at once to leave the place. Captain Crauford was met by an officer of rank, who refused to accede to these terms, and said that any attempt to land or destroy the vessels would be resisted. The Russians had six field-pieces in position, and about 200 men with them; while a battalion of infantry, besides Cossacks, were drawn up behind the town, and could be seen from the mast-heads of our ships.

Captain Lyons allowed until nine o'clock for a reconsideration, and as he received no further answer, he then hauled down the flag of truce, and placed his steamers as near to the town as the shallowness of the water would admit. Having, by a well-directed fire of shells, driven away the artillery and infantry of the enemy, Captain Lyons sent the ships' boats, under the command of Lieutenant J. F. Mackenzie, who succeeded in setting fire to the corn stores, and the vessels, seventy-three in number. The awe-struck enemy stood aloof; the fire was applied to ship after ship without opposition, and the boats returned without accident. The squadron remained to watch the progress of destruction, while the Russians also looked on, and beheld an insult to their shores, and a destruction of their property, which they were too feeble either to prevent or avenge. After the flames had been roaring and crackling for about two hours, the wind shifted and blew away the devouring element from some of the corn stores which had not yet ignited. Conceiving the destruction of the corn, as well as some

more distant vessels, which occupied so favourable a position for supplying the Russian armies in the Crimea, to be of the utmost importance, Captain Lyons resolved to send the boats again to the shore to complete the work of destruction. As the enemy had had time to make preparations, this was an enterprise of considerable hazard. In this position, lieutenants Buckley and Burgoyne, with Mr. John Roberts, gunner, volunteered to land alone, and fire the remaining stores. This daring offer was accepted, and most gallantly performed. The party narrowly escaped being cut off from their boat by the Cossacks, but they resolutely pushed on and burnt the remaining vessels, though the Russians opened a fire from four field guns and musketry placed almost within point-blank range of the boats. The task being accomplished, these brave men returned, only one of them being wounded. "Since the squadron entered the Sea of Azoff," said Captain Lyons, in his despatch relative to this proceeding, "four days ago, the enemy has lost four steamers of war, 246 merchant vessels, also corn and flour magazines, to the value of at least £150,000." In a later despatch, Captain Lyons estimated the quantity of corn destroyed as comprising nearly four months' rations for an army of 100,000 men.

It was stated as a reason why an expedition which produced such rapid and brilliant results had not been proceeded with at an earlier period, that the necessary soundings had not been taken. These, it is said, were obtained in a curious manner, and in one which, if true, shows that the Russians, astute as they are, may sometimes be taken in. A British naval officer had captured a vessel which had on board a private carriage belonging to the governor of Kertch. Thinking he might turn this circumstance to account, he sent a polite message to the governor, stating that the English cruiser was unwilling to deprive him of his private property, and would have great pleasure in restoring the carriage to its former owner. The offer was accepted, and the ship's boats entered the bay of Kertch, with the vehicle on board, sounding as they went. By this means it was ascertained that there was a passage for the small steamers to within a short distance of the coast; and the governor's carriage made a track for the British fleet.

Let us now say a few words concerning the Sea of Azoff, on the turbid waters of

which a hostile flag had probably never before floated. A reference to the excellent maps of the "Black Sea" and the "Crimea," which accompany this history, will at once show its position more briefly and more accurately than words can do. The Sea of Azoff is ninety miles in length from the straits of Kertch to the entrance of the gulf of the Don; the gulf itself is seventy-six miles: making a total of 166. The extreme width of the sea is 142 miles. Its eastern shore is inhabited by the Cossacks of the Black Sea. Much of it is low, often sandy, and intersected by lagunes and marshes. It has numerous sandbanks, particularly in the gulf of the Don. The Tonka, or Tongue of Arabat, a curiously elongated peninsula, or mere strip of low land, forms the western side of the sea, and separates it from the Sivash (the Sea of Mud, or Putrid Sea), an immense lagune, into which some rivers of the Crimea empty themselves. This is considered impracticable for the entrance of vessels. According to some travellers, miasma and foul vapours rise from this sea, which is warm even to its slimy bottom. Others affirm that the air in its vicinity is salubrious. However that may be, a quantity of salt is gathered during the summer on its shores, and on the banks of its numerous lakes. This is transported by caravans in all directions, even to the centre of the empire, and forms an important source of revenue to the Russian government. In 1854, the greatest depth of the Sea of Azoff was forty-four feet. Since the commencement of the last century, its depth has been gradually diminishing in an accelerated ratio. Its sandbanks, also, are increasing in extent, and it is supposed to be slowly drying up. The water is thick and turbid, and the bottom mud and slime, with a mixture of shells, mostly black, though reddish towards the eastern coast. The chief tributary to the Sea of Azoff is the Don, which freshens it so much, that even at twenty miles to the west of Taganrog, it is drinkable. The navigation is only open from the end of May to October; after that period it is usually frozen over.

We mentioned that the town and inhabitants of Kertch were respected, and that no injury was done, except to government property. This commendable forbearance was of brief duration. When the Russian troops abandoned Kertch on the landing of the allies, many of the wealthier inhabitants

went with them, leaving their property behind, and their houses closed and fastened up. These deserted places were an irresistible temptation to the troops. The crews of some merehant vessels were the first to break into some of the houses, pilage such things as they could carry away, and smash the heavier furniture to atoms. Some Turkish soldiers even perpetrated shocking crimes, adding violation and murder to pillage. In this they were joined by the native Tartars, who had apparently some scores of vengeance to settle with the fugitive Russians. The French patrols endeavoured to preserve order, but did not succeed until they had killed or wounded several Turks and Tartars. Some were killed while in the act of committing frightful outrages: one ruffian was shot as he came down the street waving a sword wet with the blood of a poor child whom he had hacked to pieces. Some of the French soldiers were disposed to cruel excesses; but at length, respect for the lives of the townspeople was established.

On a hill, at the back of the town of Kertch, stand two buildings, one of which, built after the model of the Parthenon, and though of modern date, incorporating some of the pillars of an ancient temple, was used as a museum. It contained a collection of cinerary urns, antique relics collected amid the ruins of the ancient Bosphor, of statuary, and of the contents of the graves of this classic region. This building was broken into, and its contents given over to destruction. "It is impossible," said the vivacious Mr. Russell, "to convey an idea of the scene within this place. The museum consisted of a single large room, with glass cases along the walls, and niches for statuary, and rows of stands parallel to them, which once held the smaller antiquities. At the end opposite the door, a large ledge, about thirty feet from the ground, ran from side to side, and supported a great number of cinerary urns, most probably dug out of the tumuli which abound in the neighbourhood. It was reached by a winding staircase through one of the pillars at the end of the room. One might well wonder how the fury of a few men could effect such a prodigious amount of ruin in so short a time. The floor of the museum is covered, for several inches in depth, with the *debris* of broken glass, of vases, urns, statuary, the precious dust of their contents, and charred bits of wood

and bone, mingled with the fresh splinters of the shelves, desks, and cases in which they had been preserved. Not a single bit of anything that could be broken or burnt any smaller had been exempt from reduction by hammer or fire. The cases and shelves had been torn from the walls; the glass was smashed to atoms; and the statues pounded to pieces. On ascending to the ledge on which the cinerary urns had been placed, the ruin was nearly as complete. A large dog lay crouching in fear among the remnants of the vases, and howled dismally at the footsteps of a stranger. The burnt bones which the vases contained, were scattered about, mixed with dust and ashes, on the floor; and there was scarcely an urn or earthen vessel of any kind unbroken. Here and there a slice of marble, on which were traced one or two Greek letters, could be discovered, and the slabs and pieces of statuary outside the building were generally too large and too massive to admit of their being readily broken; but, on the whole, the work of destruction was complete, and its only parallel could be found within some of the finest houses in the town, such as that of the governor, where the ruin was equally indiscriminate and universal." Mr. Russell mourns all this destruction very pathetically; but we are convinced that war carried on in a spirit of polite forbearance can never be very effective. Cruelty to the helpless rouses our horror and indignation; but we can learn, with very placid feelings, of the destruction of rare objects on which the enemy sets a high value. We have before said, that war should be appalling in its effects, that it may be brief in its operations; it should sweep over a land as the destroying angel passed over Egypt, smiting so remorselessly that men should instantly turn, with longing eyes, towards peace. If we must resort to so awful an agency as war, let us make it too unendurable to last for long, and let it leave such sad reflections in the minds of men, that they will not speedily resort to it again. A war carried on in a spirit of politeness, with a delicate regard for etiquette and a respect for antiquities, is a mistake, for it will not win the desired result; and a cruelty, for it is certain to become tediously protracted.

The furniture in the house of the governor of Kertch was torn or beaten to pieces. Empty bottles lay in disorder among fragments of sofas, chairs, tables, and looking-

glasses. Papers, picture-frames, and feathers from ripped beds and pillows, strewed the floor in wild disorder. The government buildings were levelled. The dock-yard was left a ruin, the stores being destroyed or taken away. Guns were hurled into the sea; platforms torn up; shells were exploded, or carried out to sea and sunk; and parties of boats were sent in all directions to secure or burn prizes, and to set fire to the Russian storehouses and huts on the sandbanks. Ultimately, nearly each house of good condition was plundered and injured. The doors and windows were smashed in, and all the smaller articles of any value carried away. All the military and civil archives of Kertch, since 1824, were discovered in a boat towed by the steamer which the English gun-boat *Snake* had chased. In that boat it is supposed that the public chest of the town, containing several million of roubles, was carried off.

On his return to the town, Mr. Russell visited the hospital, which had of course been spared from the ruin that had fallen on most of the other public buildings. It was large, well-built, clean, and ventilated. As he and his companions entered, some women who had been standing at the gate retreated from before the invaders, and an old soldier came forward and uttered the word "hospital," which he had wisely learned as a protection for himself and the inmates. On intimating a desire that they wished to see the place, he led them over it. In the first ward were five wounded Russians, and one drunken Englishman. Two of the Russians had been blown up when the magazines exploded, and the heads and hands of the poor creatures were covered with linen bandages, through which holes were cut for the eyes and mouth. Their scorched eyes rolled heavily upon the visitors with a kind of listless curiosity, but they gave no outward indication of their sufferings. The other men had been shot in various parts of the body. The next ward contained some gunners, who also had been burnt and injured, in consequence of the precipitate manner in which their countrymen had blown up the batteries previously to taking flight. In another room a fine soldierly-looking man lay on the only bed it contained, while a young girl sat by his bedside fanning his face, and chasing away the gnats and flies which buzzed around him. She seemed alarmed at the presence

of the strangers; and, as a number of sailors came laughing and shouting up the passage at the same time, they shut the door of the room to reassure her. The wounded officer seemed grateful for the courtesy, and bowed his thanks.

In the evening nearly fifty wounded Russians, collected from various places along the coast, were brought from Yenikale, and subsequently sent to the hospital. The Tartars and Jews of the town looked at the sufferers, but evinced no compassion for them. An act of good-feeling and natural politeness, on the part of a French soldier, quite astonished them. A wounded Russian, who was being carried past in a half-unconscious state, smiled feebly as he caught sight of the Frenchman. The latter at once removed his cap, made a bow to the "brave," and remained uncovered until the latter had been carried some yards beyond him.

In the desolate town, consisting at length of long lines of walls, which were once the fronts of storehouses, magazines, mansions, and palaces, there was not an edifice untouched save one. "This," said Mr. Russell, whose characteristic little sketch cannot be referred to without quotation, "is a fine stone house, with a grand semicircular front, ornamented with rich entablatures and a few Grecian pillars. The windows permit one to see massive mirrors, and the framework of pictures, and the glitter of brass-work. Inside the open door, an old man, in an arm-chair, receives everybody. How deferential he is! how he bows! how graceful, deprecatory, and soothing the modulation of his trunk and arms! But these are nothing to his smile. His face seems a kind of laughing clock, wound up to act for so many hours. When the machinery is feeble, towards evening, the laugh degenerates into a grin; but he has managed with nods, and smiles, and a little bad German and French, which enable him to inform all comers that this house is specially under English and French protection, to save it from plunder. The house belongs, *on dit*, to Prince Woronzoff, and the guardian is an aged servitor of the prince, who, being paralytic, was left behind; and has done good service in his arm-chair. Prince Woronzoff's house is said to be under the protection of the English and French. Was it protected because he was a prince, or merely because he is supposed to be friendly to Englishmen, and is known to be connected with some English families?"

The allied squadron in the Sea of Azoff, having destroyed the stores of Genitehi, sailed, on the 30th of May, to the gulf of the Don, and on the 3rd of June, anchored in Taganrog-roads. Having reconnoitred the town, Captain Lyons was reinforced by the admiral, with the *Sulina*, *Danube*, and *Medina*, and twelve armed launches of the line-of-battle ships. These would only have embarrassed the squadron in its previous rapid movements in deep waters, but were necessary for operations in the shallows of the gulf. Taganrog is a maritime town of some importance, but it has been eclipsed by the greater prosperity of Kertch. Its buildings are large and handsome, built of white stone, and roofed with iron. Several handsome domes of large churches could be seen from the ships, and between them fine trees and gardens were interspersed. The enemy had assembled 3,200 men for the defence of the town; but such a force was of course utterly unequal to the task of contending with the allies.

Having anchored the *Recruit* at 1,400 yards from the mole-head, and collected all the boats astern, captains Lyons and de Sédaines sent an English and French officer with a flag of truce, to demand the surrender of all government property whatever, and of all grain, flour, and provisions; which they regarded as contraband, knowing that, even though not government property, it could only be intended for the supply of the Russian army in the Crimea. To this demand it was added, that during the destruction of the stores, the Russian troops should remove five miles from the town, to a place within sight of the ships, and the inhabitants to withdraw. One hour was given to the governor to consider these terms. At the end of that period he rejected them, and the officers with the flag of truce retired.

The *Recruit* commenced its fire, under the cover of which the boats pulled round to the beach, drove back the Russians by a tremendous fire, while Lieutenant Buckley, in a four-oared gig, manned by volunteers, repeatedly landed and fired the different stores and government buildings. Such an act, in the face of upwards of 3,000 soldiers, constantly endeavouring to prevent it, was not only valiant, but desperate. By three in the afternoon, all the long ranges of the stores of grain, plank, and tar, as well as the custom-house and other public buildings, and, unavoidably, the town in many

places, were on fire, and the boats then returned to the *Recruit*. Many Russians had fallen during this proceeding, but only one man among the allies was wounded. Though the allies were unable to obtain a correct estimate of the amount of grain destroyed, it was conjectured to be enormous. A Russian war-steamer, which had been run on shore near the town and abandoned, was also burnt, together with a large raft of timber. Previously to these proceedings, large convoys of people were seen leaving the town, carrying with them their goods, and driving away their cattle. During the conflagration, a man in uniform ran down to the beach, near the custom-house, and gesticulated violently, until a boat went in with a white flag and brought him to Captain Lyons, who was on board the *Recruit*. When first received on the vessel, the fellow was so drunk as to be unable to give any account of himself. On becoming more sober, he stated that he belonged to the commissariat, and was attached to the hospital, in which there were nearly 200 men. He added, that the troops in the town consisted of four regiments of Cossacks. When asked his reason for deserting, he replied that neither he nor the other soldiers were well treated, and that he had heard that the English brandy was very good, and that he wanted to taste it. On its being intimated to him that he had had enough for the present, he modestly desired to be set on shore again; a request which we need scarcely say was not complied with. Other Russians appeared to desire to desert; for many of them were observed, even during the sharpest of the firing, to take off their caps and kneel down, facing towards the boats. The same day that the terrors of war fell upon Taganrog, the *Minna* went with a launch to the mouth of the Don, to destroy some vessels seen there. On account of the shallowness of the water, she was unable to reach them, and they escaped up the river. This want of a sufficient depth of water prevented the allies from extending their operations to Azoff and Rostoff, where, it is said, there were a number of gun-boats, and a quantity of military stores.

From Taganrog the squadron proceeded to Mariopol, off which place they anchored on the evening of the 4th of June. It was a neat little town, the most prominent buildings being the church and the club-house. Soon after daylight the next morning, a

flag of truce was sent with a demand for the surrender of the place, on the same terms as those offered at Taganrog. Lieutenant Horton, and the French officer who accompanied the flag, were desired to express to the authorities the earnest desire of the French and English commanders, that they would not oblige them to resort to measures which would endanger the whole town, as their object was to destroy all contraband of war, but to respect private property. In answer to the demand, the Austrian consul made his appearance, and said that he was authorised to surrender. He negatived the effect of this proceeding, however, by refusing his consent to the destruction of some storehouses full of grain, which he asserted were private property, but which, it was well known, were intended for the support of the Russian forces in the Crimea. At the expiration of the delay granted, the launches were sent to effect the design of the allies by force. As the marines and a body of French small-arm men landed, 600 Cossacks evacuated the town, and the marines and French advanced and took possession of it. No molestation was offered them; most of the inhabitants had deserted the place; and the few who remained rendered their assistance by pointing out the stores and public buildings, and even gave beer to the men. The extensive stores of grain, the custom-house, police and passport offices, were soon a prey to the roaring flames. Numbers of pigs and geese were shot or cut down, and carried off by the sailors, who seemed to enjoy the sport wonderfully. It is said that the French captured a cart just leaving the town with a large sum of money, which they forthwith appropriated for their own benefit.

The next day (June 6th), the squadron proceeded to the little town of Gheisk, at the opposite side of the gulf, where the usual demands were made. These were wisely acceded to by the governor, whose force was quite inadequate to defend the town. This gentleman added extreme courtesy to submission. He provided horses and carriages for the invaders; took them round the town; showed them the stores; and caused the grain to be conveyed outside the town, and provided tar-barrels to make it burn more quickly. A quantity of hay stacked on the beach, ready for conveyance to the Crimea, and several thousand quarters of wheat, were consumed.

From Gheisk the squadron proceeded to Temrouk. This town is built on an elevated promontory between two lakes, and separated from the sea by a sandy spit of land, through which there is a narrow entrance. Some large buildings, and stacks of what appeared to be grain, could be seen from the ships; but the wind and sea being too high for any boating operations, together with the fact of the extreme shallowness of the water, preventing even boats from reaching the town, proved its salvation, and it was spared. On the 9th of June, 30,000 sacks of flour, the property of the Russian government, stacked on the beach in Kiten Bay, were destroyed; and the squadron having swept thus triumphantly through the Sea of Azoff, returned to Kertch.

The work of destruction over in this direction, the admirals intended to visit the Circassian coast of the Black Sea, and direct a combined attack, both by sea and land, against Soudjak and Anapa, the last two military posts occupied by the Russians on that important shore. Before their preparations were complete, information came that the Russians had abandoned Soudjak, having first burnt the town and destroyed its fortifications. Shortly afterwards, on the 5th of June, they learned that Anapa had shared the same fate. Whether from panic or policy it does not appear; but the enemy had anticipated the efforts of the allies, and laid reckless and destroying hands upon their own towns and means of defence. Admirals Stewart and Charner were sent by the respective French and English authorities to Anapa, to ascertain the fact, and learn the circumstances of its destruction. Admiral Stewart proceeded in the *Hannibal*, accompanied by several light vessels; and Admiral Charner, in the *Napoleon*, accompanied by the *Primauguet*. On anchoring before Anapa, the two admirals landed. The town stands on a low point of land, or cape, advancing upwards of a thousand yards into the sea. It was an important military post, surrounded by a bastioned rampart, forming a complete line of stone fortifications, extending 2,700 yards along the sea, and 1,750 on the land side. These defences comprised ten batteries facing the sea, and mounting fifty-eight guns, among which were several 24 and 30-pounders, and large howitzers. On the land side were seven batteries armed with guns of an inferior character. The garrison it contained were estimated by the

Circassians at between seven and eight thousand men. These soldiers had lived, with their wives and children, in small mud houses, covered with tiles or straw, having only a ground-floor, with a lit of garden attached, and resembling the cabins of our peasantry. These dwelling-places were completely open to the fire of a besieger, and the women and children could not have been sent out of the town in the event of its being attacked, on account of the hostility of the neighbouring Circassians.

The scene of destruction that met the view of the admirals as they landed, was astonishing. The ruin was dismal and almost chaotic in its completeness and confusion. The fortifications which surrounded the town had been blown up at three different points, each of which displayed an enormous breach, surrounded by masses of stone and rubbish. The largest was open to the sea, in the direction of the landing-place, and through that the admirals and their staffs entered the town. The mines had been fired by means of electric wires, the remains of which, covered with gutta-percha, were lying here and there on the ground. The guns lining the ramparts had been spiked, the platforms burnt, and the iron carriages all broken to pieces. The park of artillery contained an immense quantity of shells, grenades, grape, cannon-balls, and bombs, and near the batteries were strewn numerous projectiles. The barracks, magazines, guard-houses, and private buildings, were all empty and desolate. Everything that could not be removed was broken to pieces and rendered useless. In many places the roofs were still burning; while the smoke, ascending from charred and smouldering ruins, gave a yet deeper tint of blackness to the naked walls. The remorseless industry of the destroyers excited feelings of wonder. Not only had the stores of grain and wool been consumed, but the churches had been gutted; the inscriptions on the tombs defaced, lest even they should afford any information to the invaders; the two large bells of the cathedral smashed to pieces; and the religious *basso relievos*, with which the exterior of that building was adorned, destroyed with hammers. Such seems to be the suicidal policy of Russia in the presence of foes she fears; such the way she abandons her people to their vengeance.

The ruin completed, the Russians retired on the Kubon river, which they crossed by a bridge, destroying the latter behind them.

Within a few hours after they had abandoned the desolated town, it was filled with Circassians from the mountain which lies at its back. Groups of these warlike men crowded to the beach, and welcomed the allied admirals with the greatest alacrity and kindness. A number of Circassian chiefs came afterwards to tender their services. The appearance of these men in the town, with their striking costumes, bristling with arms as they walked exultingly amid the ruins, was exceedingly picturesque. A number of guns, by far the greater part of which had been rendered quite useless by the Russians, were carried away by the allies as trophies, and the remainder were thrown over the cliffs into the sea.

The allied fleet and army which had effected all this loss on Russia, having effected its mission, returned to Balaklava and Kamiesch. The French left on the 13th of June, and the English on the following day. Fortifications of a formidable kind had been thrown up round Yenikale, in which a garrison of Turkish troops was left, as well as at Pavlovskaja. Scarcely had Captain Lyons, who had greatly distinguished himself for his energy and decision throughout this expedition, returned to Balaklava, than in an attack on the sea defences of Sebastopol, during the night of the 17th, he was so severely wounded in the leg by a shell, that he was obliged to be sent to the hospital at Therapia. He did not think much of the injury at the time, but unfortunately he sunk under it, and it terminated fatally. Thus was the service deprived of a highly-promising officer, to whom we owe our first naval success in this war. He was buried on the 25th of June, in the little burial-ground of Therapia, and his remains were followed to the grave

by a great number of the civil and military functionaries of both England and France. An officer of the *Miranda* (the vessel commanded by Captain Lyons), wrote—"Our brave captain is no more. His wound was mortal, and he died on Saturday night. C—— was with him the whole time, and S—— says his death was worthy of his life. He forgot nothing; sending messages to each of us individually, and arranging for the smallest trifles. He said to C——, 'I die as a captain of a man-of-war ought to die.' The navy has lost its greatest ornament; and we one, who to us was more than a friend. He was so brave, so great, so good, and so amiable, that we all loved him much more than we knew."

It was difficult to learn the exact effect which the ravages of the allies in the Sea of Azoff had on the minds of the government and people of the Russian empire. Such a blow could not but be severely felt, though it was represented in such a manner as to conceal, as far as possible, the loss and degradation sustained by an empire compelled to abandon its coasts to the insults of a powerful enemy.* It is not easy to ascertain the true sentiments of either the government or people of Russia: the following extract of a letter from St. Petersburg (dated May 28th), may, however, give not an incorrect glance at the subject:—"The intelligence of the entrance of the allied fleets into the Sea of Azoff, which reached us by telegraph from Nicolaieff, has caused the greatest sensation. The government is accused of having neglected the defence of a sea which was the last refuge of the commercial fleet of Southern Russia. There may be seen in the fact of the abandonment of the straits of Kertch and Yenikale, a fresh proof of the egotism which inspires the

* The *Journal de St. Petersburg* expressed itself as follows upon this subject:—"As regards the operations of the enemy in the Sea of Azoff, the details sent by aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff, are in part already known by his previous telegraphic despatches. In general, the entrance of our enemies into that sea, proclaimed by them with so much emphasis, has only been signalised by the inglorious devastation of our coasts, and by the destruction of some grain stores, but has by no means exercised the influence they expected upon the general progress of the operations of our army in the Crimea. This event was not unexpected by us; in fact, owing to local circumstances, it was only possible for us, as regards the defence of the straits of Kertch, with our land forces alone, to take measures against feeble hostile squadrons; but, in case of a descent in considerable force, the garrisons of Kertch and Yenikale had received instructions, be-

forehand, to blow up and abandon the batteries on the coast, that they might not fall into the power of the enemy, to our detriment. Thus, as for some time an attempt of some sort was expected, on the part of the allies against us, in the Sea of Azoff, and as he thought it indispensable that all his forces should be concentrated, rather than isolated, to defend the coast-line, Prince Gortschakoff had made his arrangements so that the greater portion of the provisions destined for the troops in the Crimea might be brought to them overland, notwithstanding all the advantages offered by their transport by water. Consequently, the number of grain stores and vessels burnt by the enemy on the coast of the Sea of Azoff, form but a small portion of what was intended for provisioning the troops. In this respect, as was the case last year in the Baltic, it is the property of private individuals which has had principally to suffer from the cruelty of the enemy."

policy of the czar. Millions have been spent on Sebastopol, and nothing done for the protection of the Sea of Azoff. The people suffer from the obstinacy of the government not to yield anything; but that is little thought of in the higher region of power. The Emperor Alexander II., will not allow the political programme of his deceased father to be questioned in the most distant manner; and, having less deci-

sion of character than the late czar, the emperor cannot assume the initiative of a new policy. In the privy council and in his cabinet, no one dares to express the slightest objection to what he calls 'the sacred and spiritual legacy of his father, of imperishable memory;' and the surest way of paying court to the son, is by expressing concurrence in the ideas of the father."

CHAPTER VIII.

FURIOUS NIGHT ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE RUSSIANS; THE ALLIES EXTEND THEIR POSITION; RENEWED BOMBARDMENT ON THE 6TH OF JUNE; CAPTURE OF THE QUARRIES, AND THE MAMELON REDOUBT; RASH ATTEMPT ON THE MALAKHOFF TOWER; DESPATCHES OF RAGLAN AND PELISSIER; ATTACK ON THE MALAKHOFF AND THE REDAN, AND SERIOUS REPULSE OF THE ALLIES; ENTRANCE OF BRITISH TROOPS INTO A SUBURB OF SEBASTOPOL; TRIUMPHANT PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF; THE TRUCE; MOVEMENTS OF THE TURKS AND SARDINIANS; DEATH OF LORD RAGLAN; ESTIMATE OF HIS MILITARY CHARACTER; GENERAL SIMPSON SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND; REWARDS TO THE FAMILY OF THE DEPARTED GENERAL; DISRAELI'S ORATION ON THE DEATH OF LORD RAGLAN; FUNERAL OF THE LATTER.

GENERAL PELISSIER, with the ambition natural to a brave man, had resolved to distinguish the period at which he assumed the chief command of the French army, by some brilliant exploit at Sebastopol, as well as by the expedition to the Sea of Azoff. The laurels of the latter did not strictly belong to him, but he burned to gather some as bright and green.

We have related that a sharp engagement took place on the night of the 2nd of May, when the French stormed and occupied the Russian counter-approaches in front of the Central battery. Since that period the enemy had been endeavouring to impede the progress of the French, and to attack them in flank, by erecting new lines of counter-approach by the Quarantine side. To quote the despatch of General Pelissier,—"They (the Russians) formed the plan of connecting, by a gabionnade, the ambuscades at the extremity of the bay, those of the Cemetery, and to connect the work by a continuous covered way, with the right lunette of the Central bastion. In the night between the 21st and 22nd, by an enormous effort of labour, skilfully concealed, they commenced laying out that vast *place d'armes* so threatening for our left attack, and so convenient for enabling

the enemy to assemble large bodies of men and make considerable sorties."

General Pelissier perceived the extent and danger of this labour of the foe, and resolved upon instantly meeting it decisively. Accordingly, he gave orders to General de Salles to carry the position and turn the enemy's new works against themselves. This was necessarily a difficult and dangerous operation, as a strong resistance and obstinate struggle might be counted upon, under the fire of formidable batteries.

It was arranged that the French attack should be made in two places, but at the same moment. The left attack was led by general of brigade Beuret, and consisted of three companies of the 10th battalion of *chasseurs-à-pied*, three battalions of the 2nd regiment of the foreign legion, and one battalion of the 98th of the line. The right attack, entrusted to General de la Motterouge, consisted of picked companies of the 1st regiment of the foreign legion, supported by two battalions of the 28th line, with a battalion of the 18th, and two battalions of *voltigeurs* of the garde as reserve. The whole operation was under the direction of General Paté.

The French advanced at nine o'clock on the night of the 22nd of May. It is sup-

posed that the Russians also meditated a night attack in considerable force; for a body of them, estimated at about 12,000, were advancing stealthily on the French position, when the two bodies found themselves suddenly in each other's presence. A few minutes' pause of astonishment and preparation was succeeded by a bloody combat which lasted until daybreak. On a signal from General Paté, the French rushed on with inexpressible impetuosity, drove everything before them, and established themselves in front of the Russian works. The Russian troops were, however, strengthened by enormous masses of men, who issued from the Quarantine ravine, joined in the combat, and disputed the ground with extraordinary obstinacy. The most distant ambuscades were five times taken and retaken; the Russians and French were sometimes mingled together, and the bayonet was used with terrible effect. On the left attack the Russians, after repeatedly dashing forward on the bayonets of their foes, and being hurled back by the fury of those noble troops, beat a retreat, and the French engineers installed themselves securely in the Russian gabionnade. On the right, the conquest was prolonged until dawn, when the Russians ceased fighting, and the French returned to their trenches, resolving to complete their half-finished work on the following night.

The attack was renewed the next night at the same hour. The impetuosity of the French was irresistible, and the defence of the Russians not so vigorous as in the preceding struggle. The ambuscades were turned and carried; and the Russians, driven back on all sides, retreated, though keeping up a skirmishing fire, which gradually ceased. The labours of the engineers were successful, and the works which the Russians erected to arrest the progress of the foes, were in the hands of the latter. Those which the French could not combine in their own system were destroyed. The losses of the French were heavy in these two encounters, to which the dignity of the term "battle" might be given. "We have paid for our victory," said the French general, "with generous blood." The loss of the Russians was much greater. On the following day, while a flag of truce waved for the burial of the dead, the French handed over to the Russian authorities more than 1,200 ghastly corpses. A Russian authority subsequently acknowledged that

they had 2,500 men put *hors de combat*. The French bayonets had done their work effectively. The affair was a miniature Inkermann; and a spectator compared the roaring of the cannon, on the second night, to that created by the recent bombardment on the 9th of April. Five or six shells were frequently seen in the air at once; and at one time nine were observed tracing their lurid path through the darkness.

During the absence from Sebastopol of the squadrons that had proceeded to Kertch and the Sea of Azoff, a considerable number of additional troops had joined the allied armies in the Crimea; and, on the 25th of May, a large piece of ground, beyond their former position, was taken into occupation. The Russians offered no further resistance than that of opening fire, without effect, from a number of guns placed in almost inaccessible-looking spots on the cliff. The Cossacks retired to the other side of the river Tchernaya, and the English and French cavalry peaceably watered their horses at that welcome stream. "As you stand on the heights by the French telegraph," said the elegant writer to whom we are so much indebted, "the verdant prairie which stretches beneath you is encircled by the dotted encampments of four nations; and the field-works, which throughout the winter and the spring defended our rear, have lost their value, and become a neglected memorial of the past. The view is panoramic in the best sense of the term. You see from sea to sea—from the masts which tower against the beleaguered city, to those which come in quick succession to our unimpeded harbours. Before you and below you, to the south, the Genoese fortress shines against an ocean seldom vacant of a sail. Beneath you, on that nearer mound, as you look eastward, the Turks are posted; and the faint monotony of their droning music comes to you across the valley. Further to the left, the more formidable ranges are sprinkled with the white tents of the French, which crop out, again and again, upon the horizon far away, foretelling no distant conclusion to the protracted struggle. You descend amid waving grasses, giant thistles, and regaled by the scent of a thousand flowers: diverge an instant from the road, and you trample upon vetches and lupins, convolvulus and poppy, geranium and wild parsley, with innumerable other blossoms of the rank and file. It is a vivid and delicious contrast to the hoof-trodden

and arid waste, desolated by our winter encampment, cut into no spontaneous fairy rings by tents planted and removed, and sown broadcast with fragments of broken bottles and discarded raiment—a contrast not less refreshing to the eye of man than to the appetite of a myriad of beasts. The chasseur rides down beside you with his hand-scythe to reap an easy load of succulent forage. The Turk has discarded his canvas habitation, and contrived himself a shady bower, thatched with green branches of underwood, beneath which he enjoys a siesta accommodated to his heart's desire. It is no longer a question whether this jutting corner of the peninsula shall be ours, earth and water, dale and hill; whether the brute shall outlive his hard day's labour, and the man strive beyond his failing strength, yet strive in vain. The feet of our horses have been in Tchorgoun; the humble burgesses of Baidar have tendered their submission to the allies. Up to those precipitous ridges which bound the prospect, scored by rains, and streaked with white seams of limestone, there is no competitor. The fruits of the flank march are ripe and ready to cut. The hunters are beginning to close upon the prey. The strength and the purpose of the two great countries of Western Europe have made themselves at last plainly visible to the eye of every beholder, and the roar of the guns which hedge round Sebastopol, in nearer and nearer embrace, seems to have a sound of triumph mixed with its own malign and deep reverberation. Our own army is once more what England's army should be, if it is to represent her—in first-rate condition, full of vigour and enthusiasm; nor is there any doubt in any soldier's mind as to what he can do, or will."

The Malakhoff Tower, and the works fronting and flanking that elevated position, were regarded by many engineers and military judges as the true key of the entire fortress of Sebastopol. Coinciding in this opinion, General Pelissier resolved on an attempt to take the Mamelon, a fortified work in advance of the Malakhoff Tower,

which the French had been unable to prevent the Russians from erecting (see page 113.) Thus stimulated, General Pelissier resolved that the Mamelon should be taken, chiefly by the French.

On the 5th of June,* a general order announced to the allied armies the victories, or rather the triumphs, of the fleets in the Sea of Azoff. This raised the spirits of the men to a pitch of enthusiasm which made them fit for any exploit; and when Lord Raglan and General Pelissier rode through the camps that evening, they were received with tumultuous hurrahs and acclamations. The men knew that they were on the eve of some effort, and they wished to show that they were ready for anything.

On the afternoon of the 6th, a fierce cannonade was opened from both the French and English lines, and continued for about three hours. The English had 157 guns and mortars, and the French about 300, pouring forth flame and destruction. The fire was kept up with great energy and rapidity, and obtained a superiority over that of the enemy at several points, though the Russians replied with much energy and bravado. It was a hot sultry day, with scarce a breath of wind to blow away the thick curtain of smoke which swayed heavily between the town and the batteries of the besiegers; and during the night, flashes of lightning succeeded to the roar and blazing of the cannons. The Russian fire ceased wholly soon after sunset, but the allies threw shells occasionally during the night, to prevent the enemy from repairing damages. On the morning of this day, General Pelissier dispatched the following characteristic telegraphic message to the French minister of war:—"To-day, with our allies, we opened fire against the external works; and to-morrow, please God, we will take them."

The French general kept his word. The next morning the cannonade was renewed with great spirit, though principally on the part of the English. A cool breeze sprang up, and blew throughout the day, driving the clouds of smoke out of the batteries.

* On this day a brief despatch from Lord Raglan announced the death, on board the *Jason*, of Rear-admiral Boxer. This veteran officer had for some time been extremely unpopular in England, on account of the statements that were made of his unpleasant abruptness of manner. It is due to his memory to say, that though greatly harassed by overwhelming labours, he was indefatigable in the performance of his duty, and contributed largely to

the restoration of order and decency in the harbour of Balaklava. A few days previous to the death of Admiral Boxer, his nephew died of cholera; the veteran officer took the matter so much to heart that he, too, sank under the fatal epidemic. The cholera had again attacked the troops, though not severely; the Sardinians, however, suffered considerably, and the brother of the Sardinian general perished by it.

The fire of the Russians was not so vigorous as usual on these occasions; but about eleven o'clock, one of their shells blew up a magazine in the English 8-gun battery. A yell of triumph from the Russians followed the report, but the explosion did not produce much mischief. About three, the fire was kept up with great activity, and continued so until the hour of the intended attack. At four, active preparatory movements began. The volunteers had turned out, talking and laughing, and looking rather as if they were going to a merry party than to attack a position defended by heavy siege guns. When General Pennefather arrived, with his staff, the air rang with shouts, caps flew up, and wherever he stopped for a moment, he was surrounded by the soldiers, who seemed to regard him as a father. Once, with a pleasant smile, he said—"Leave the cheering till you have taken the place;" to which the men responded—"Never fear us; we will take it." The intention was, for the French to attack the Mamelon in front of the Malakhoff Tower, and the English the Quarries in front of the Redan. An idea generally prevailed that the Mamelon redoubt was deeply mined, and that even if taken, an explosion might cause a catastrophe to the first occupants. But no anxiety on this subject could be traced in the martial appearance of the brave fellows who were soon to dash forward upon it like tigers on their prey.

Shortly before six, Lord Raglan and his staff took up a conspicuous position on the edge of the hill below the Limekiln, and the man with the signal-rockets stood impatiently awaiting orders. At half-past six the head of the French attacking column came in sight; instantly a rocket shot up into the air, and the body of English, detached for the post of honour, rushed on to the Quarries. The Russians, on seeing the French approach the Mamelon, had moved along their trenches towards the right, where they became connected with the trenches or other works on the Malakhoff hill; so that the left—that side against which our men advanced—was almost deserted. The conflict was a brief one; the Russians were driven out, and our troops had an easy victory. Several sharp attempts were made to dislodge them, but the English succeeded in maintaining their position.

* An eye-witness thus spoke of the Mamelon on visiting it shortly after this engagement:—"From the simple parapet it had been in the beginning, it

The great feature of the day was the advance of the French against the Mamelon; they went up the steep towards it in beautiful style and in loose order. Spectators stood lost in admiration. The French troops mounted the earthworks, running, climbing, scrambling up the slopes on to the body of the work amidst a plunging fire from the guns, which fortunately did not do them much damage. Soon the Zouaves were upon the parapet; instantly the French flag was raised as a rallying point and defiance; backward and forward, up and down, went the fluttering colours, as the storm of battle raged around them. With a wild dash the French rushed into the heart of the Mamelon, where a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, with musket and bayonet, ensued. The Russians received reinforcements from the Malakhoff Tower, and once the French were momentarily driven back; but they soon recovered themselves, rushed again into the redoubt, and, after another bloody contest carried on with dripping bayonets, the Russians spiked their guns and retired. The French were victors, and the famous Mamelon redoubt was theirs. This was all that was then contemplated; but the enthusiasm of the troops, both officers and men, carried them away. They were unable to resist the pursuit of the Russians, or even to attempt to storm the Malakhoff itself. Dashing after the enemy, they crossed a hollow between the Mamelon and the Malakhoff, and mounted the hill on which the latter stands. They actually succeeded in ascending the tower, and spiking seven of the guns; but it was found impossible, in that unprepared state, to retain it; and a powder-magazine, or mine, having exploded inside, the French retired to the Mamelon. In this attempt on the Malakhoff Tower, the French suffered a tremendous loss. The Russians not only poured down a heavy fire upon their assailants from the batteries, but placed field-pieces so as to take them in flank. The French were harrowed by a storm of bullets as they recrossed the hollow to the Mamelon, which, after more sharp fighting, they remained masters of. The French were protected, to some extent, by the English batteries, which flung their shells into the Malakhoff with deadly effect.*

The English had taken the Quarries with had, by assiduous labour, become a strong outwork of the Malakhoff Tower. Even amid its ruins (for it is the most complete wreck imaginable), every-

more ease than they were able to keep them. A desultory, but murderous fight, was maintained the whole night. Six times did the Russians advance to the attack, and endeavour to drive our brave fellows from the advantage they had gained. The foe were, however, unable to make any impression; neither shell, nor grape, nor bullet, nor bayonet, could daunt our noble troops. A communication was effected with our advanced parallel, and the Quarries taken into the English lines. The most murderous attack of the enemy took place about three in the morning, when the whole ravine was lighted up with a blaze of fire, and a storm of shot thrown in from the Strand battery and every other spot within range. This attack, like the rest, was repelled, and many of the English officers and privates expressed their confident opinion that, with a larger body of reserve, they could have entered the Redan.

The morning of the 8th revealed the result of the proceedings of the previous day and night. The French were in great force within and on the outer slopes of the Mamelon, and were also in possession of the works on the right, called the "Ouvrages Blancs." Their efforts to intrench them-

thing shows the value they had set upon it, and the care they took to make the most of it by the fixing of the gabions, the strength of the embrasures, and the traverses. These latter had been taken advantage of to form a cover for the troops not required as gunners or sentries, bound over with fascines and earth, or rather stones; they are made up into a kind of subterranean caves. But not all the care and trouble could save them from destruction. I never saw a more complete state of wreck. The embrasures knocked into formless mounds, the traverses overthrown, burying all under them, the guns dismounted, with here a wheel, there a muzzle sticking out of the heaps of stones and earth. Whoever wanted to know what English and French guns could do, ought to have gone to the Mamelon to-day; and whoever wished to have an idea what the struggle was, ought to have counted the mass of dead bodies." The correspondent of the *Daily News*, who examined the ruins of the Mamelon during the subsequent armistice, gives a very interesting account of its appearance:—"At first," he says, "all officers were admitted into the Mamelon redoubt; but long before the armistice had ceased, our allies found it necessary to check the number of visitors. It was indeed a most remarkable work. The Russian engineers had not followed any set rules, but adapted it to the peculiar exigencies of its position. Every possible contrivance had been laid hold of to protect the artillerymen from the cross-fire from the French and English batteries. Traverses of immense thickness had been made between every gun. There was a depth of four feet from the level of the platforms to the ground within the work, so that no one was exposed to fire through the em-

brasures but the men actually working the gun. Near the muzzle of each gun several coils of rope were wound round one above the other, until a close dense ring of considerable thickness was formed; this was deep enough to protect the gunner from a rifle-ball while pointing the gun, and perhaps might be useful in deadening the concussion when the gun was itself struck by a shell or other missile. In rear of each gun, a passage being left to walk along, was also a splinter-proof traverse, and along the opposite sides of this passage—that is, in the sides of the earth on which the platforms rested—were a series of cave-like holes, into which two or three men could retreat. There was a middle passage along the centre of the redoubt, between the traverses placed in rear of the several embrasures. On entering the work, a stranger found himself in a sort of maze; there were little lanes and turnings in every direction. A shell falling into any part of the work could scarcely hurt more than the troops in the particular enclosure into which it fell, and they, if there were time, would have the opportunity of running behind a traverse or getting into some of the holes in the earth. A deep ditch flanked the work on each side, except that in which was the entrance, and this ditch, and the compartments of the work between the traverses, were covered with the bodies of those who had fallen in the contest for its possession. Russians, Zouaves, Algerines, and French soldiers of the line, were all lying together. The traverses and parapets were battered about in all directions, and some of the guns had been overturned, and were half-buried in the displaced earth. It was a scene, indeed, of ruin and devastation."

the six hours of truce had expired, many of the embrasures of the Redan and Malakhoff Tower, which had been reduced to silence, again poured forth a furious fire. Some among the allies were much annoyed that a truce had been granted to the Russians; but it was a necessity. The bodies of the dead, under the influence of the sun of a Crimean June, were decomposing rapidly, and in a few days it would have been almost impossible to have remained in the neighbourhood of the recent combats. The formidable Mamelon was rechristened by the French, who gave it the name of "Brancion Redoubt."

This fierce engagement, ending in the capture of two most important Russian outworks, rose so nearly to the dignity of a battle, that we shall give copies of the despatches of the English and French commanders. That by Lord Raglan ran as follows:—

Before Sebastopol, June 9th.

My Lord,—I have the great satisfaction of informing your lordship that the assault which was made upon the Quarries in front of the Redan from our advanced parallel in the right attack on the evening of the 7th inst., was attended with perfect success, and that the brave men who achieved this advantage with a gallantry and determination that does them infinite honour, maintained themselves on the ground they had acquired, notwithstanding that during the night, and in the morning of yesterday, the enemy made repeated attempts to drive them out, each attempt ending in failure, although supported by large bodies of troops, and by heavy discharges of musketry, and every species of offensive missile.

The French on our right had shortly before moved out of their trenches and attacked the "Ouvrages Blancs" and the Mamelon. These they carried without the smallest check, and their leading column rushed forward and approached the Malakhoff Tower; but this it had not been in contemplation to assail, and the troops were brought back and finally established in the enemy's works, from which the latter did not succeed in expelling them, though the fire of musketry and cannon which was brought to bear upon them was tremendous. I never saw anything more spirited and rapid than the advance of our allies. I am happy to say that the best feeling prevails between the two armies, and each is proud of and confident in the gallantry and high

military qualities of the other. I apprised your lordship, by telegraph on the 6th, that our batteries reopened that afternoon. The fire was kept up with the greatest energy until the day closed, when it was confined to vertical fire; but the next morning the guns resumed the work of destruction, and the effect was such that it was determined by General Pelissier and myself that the time had arrived for pushing our operations forward. Accordingly, soon after six o'clock on the evening of the 7th, the signal was given for the assault of the works I have enumerated, and the result was most triumphant. The troops employed in storming the Quarries were composed of detachments from the light and second divisions, and at night they were supported by the 62nd regiment. The command of these troops was intrusted to Colonel Shirley, of the 88th, who was acting as general officer of the trenches, and he was assisted in the arrangements, and guided as to the points of attack and distribution of the troops, by Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the royal engineers, the directing engineer officer of the right attack.

Although nothing could be more spirited than the attack of the Quarries, or more creditable to every officer and man engaged in the operation, yet I cannot refrain from drawing your lordship's especial attention to the energy and determination which they all displayed in maintaining and establishing themselves after their first success in them. They were repeatedly attacked during the night, and again soon after daylight on the 8th; and it was in resisting these repeated efforts on the part of the enemy that a great portion of the heavy loss the army has to deplore was sustained. The mode in which Colonel Shirley conducted this very arduous service, and carried out his orders, entitles him to my highest commendation. I have great pleasure in mentioning the following officers, who are stated to have distinguished themselves on the occasion—viz., Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 90th, who commanded the storming party; Major Mills, royal fusiliers; Major Villiers, 47th; Major Armstrong, 49th; who are all severely wounded: Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, of the 88th; Major Bayley, of the same regiment, who was unfortunately killed; Lieutenant-colonel Grant, 49th; Major Simpson, of the 34th; Lieutenant-colonel Johnstone, of the 33rd; Major Herbert, of the 23rd; Captain

Lowry, of the 47th; Captain Turner, of the 7th; Captain Lowndes, of the 47th; Captain Nason, of the 49th; Captain Le Marchant, of the 49th, who was wounded; Captain Wolseley, 90th; and lieutenants Chatfield and Eustace, of the 49th; and Palmer, Irby, and Waddilove, of the 47th; and Captain Hunter, 47th; and Lance-corporal Quinn, 47th, who took a Russian officer prisoner in the most gallant manner.

I also feel it my duty to solicit your lordship's notice to the eminent services of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the royal engineers; he has been indefatigable in the discharge of his peculiar duties from the commencement of the siege, and he has always been at hand to aid in the repulse of the enemy when they have assaulted our trenches. He eulogises the conduct of Captain Browne, of the royal engineers, Lieutenant Elphinstone, of the same corps, Lieutenant Anderson, 96th foot (acting engineer), who is wounded; and he laments the death of Lieutenant Lowry, R.E., who conducted the storming party, and was afterwards killed by a cannon-shot.

Notwithstanding the frequency of the endeavours of the Russians to regain possession of the Quarries, and the interruptions to the work to which these attacks gave rise, Lieutenant-colonel Tylden was enabled to effect the lodgment and to establish the communication with the advanced parallel, and this redounds greatly to his credit and that of the officers and men employed as the working party; and I cannot omit this opportunity to express my approbation of the conduct of the sappers throughout the operations. The exertions of the royal artillery, under Brigadier-general Dacres, and those of the naval brigade, under Captain Lushington, R.N., in serving the guns, cannot be too warmly commended. The accuracy of their fire is the theme of universal admiration, and the constancy with which they applied themselves to their arduous duties under all circumstances, however dangerous, cannot be too strongly placed upon record. It is deeply to be lamented that this success should have entailed so heavy a loss as is shown in the accompanying returns, which, however, are still incomplete; but I have the assurance of the principal medical officer that many of the wounds are slight, and that by far the greater portion of the sufferers are progressing most favourably. I have just learnt that the enemy have aban-

doned a work in the rear of the "Ouvrages Blancs," which they constructed at the commencement of the month of May. The French took possession of it on the 7th, but did not retain it. In the other works they captured sixty-two pieces of artillery, and they have fourteen officers and about 400 men prisoners. We have a few prisoners, and among them a captain of infantry, who was wounded, and taken by Corporal Quinn, of the 47th regiment.

I have, &c., RAGLAN.

The Lord Panmure, &c.

The next is the despatch of General Pelissier, the first of any importance which, as commander-in-chief of the French army in the Crimea, he had had occasion to send to his government. He wrote a second and longer one on the 11th of June, which, while it is more technical than the present, is little more than a repetition of it.

Head-quarters, June 9th.

Monsieur le Maréchal,—I had hoped to have been able to complete, by a detailed report, the news of the storming and occupation by our troops of the Kamtschatka redoubt (Mamelon Vert) and of the Volhynia and Selinghinsk redoubts (Careening Bay), forming the principal exterior defences of Sebastopol—news which was forwarded to you by my telegraphic despatches of the 7th and 8th of June; but General Bosquet has not yet been enabled to collect the multitudinous incidents which are requisite to send a report of this brilliant combat, which assumed the proportions of a battle. I confine myself therefore to-day to sending you a summary, postponing the definitive report till the next mail.

On the 7th of June, at half-past six, I gave from the Victoria redoubt, where I had established myself with my staff, the order for a simultaneous attack against the redoubt of the Mamelon Vert and of the Carénage, according to arrangements respecting which I had previously given instructions to General Bosquet; while our allies, on their side, advanced against the so-called "Quarries," which was the point of attack agreed upon for them. The troops engaged belonged to the divisions of Camou, Mayran, Dulac, and Brunet. They were supported by two battalions—one of grenadiers, the other of *gendarmes* of the imperial guard—and by a regiment forming part of the division of the Turkish army under the orders of Omar Pasha, posted in reserve on

the right. The intrepidity with which our soldiers traversed the considerable distance which separated them from the redoubts, the invincible energy with which they fought, under a hail of balls and bullets, to force an entrance, and there maintain themselves against the renewed attacks of the enemy, who in numbers returned to the charge, offered a most grand and stirring military spectacle.

One hour after the commencement of this struggle, which will remain one of the most glorious episodes of a war fruitful in great military events, our eagles were planted upon the three conquered redoubts, sixty-two guns fell into our hands, with 400 prisoners, of which number fourteen were officers.

Our allies, following the combined plan of operations, had carried the works of the Quarries with the same vigour and the same success. They maintained themselves there during the whole of the night, under a terrible fire, and despite frequent sorties by a portion of the garrison, with that indomitable firmness which is one of the salient traits of their military character. Day-break found us both, after a night of agitation and intermittent fighting, established in our respective conquests, busily employed making final arrangements and constructing batteries against the place.

I need not point out to you, M. le Maréchal, the importance of the results obtained; they are considerable as well in a material point of view as with regard to their moral effect and the security of our future operations. The siege operations on the right, which were behindhand, are now as far advanced as those on the left. The enemy is shut up on all sides in the town; and when the redoubts we have captured are armed and placed in a good state of defence, it will be impossible for them to attempt those great sorties which might, in determined cases, compromise our siege works, and even our ports of Kamiesch and Balaklava. Successes of this value, achieved by such efforts, are not to be obtained without considerable sacrifices. To-day, during a suspension of arms, we render the last duty to the fallen, and I cannot yet make out a list of the killed or wounded. I will send you shortly a full and detailed official report on the subject. I can already point out some who met a glorious death, and who excited our lively admiration and regret. Colonel de Brancion was killed while planting the eagle of the 50th regiment on the Kamptschatka redoubt. Colonel Hardy fell while

leading on the 86th. I regret to add, that the day after the victory, to which he greatly contributed, General de Lavarande, still young and full of promise, was killed by a cannon-ball. We continue to reconnoitre the country on the Tchernaya, pushing forward our cavalry, supported by infantry. On the night between the 5th and 6th a squadron of the 6th dragoons surprised some Russian videttes just at moonrise, and sabred them.

The news from the Sea of Azoff is excellent; the allied flotillas have destroyed immense stores of provisions at Gheisk, Mariopol, and Taganrog. The material losses of the enemy are incalculable. Altogether the situation of affairs is excellent; the ardour of the allied armies is really extraordinary; hope, founded upon success, is general. I have the firm conviction that it will not be deceived. PELISSIER.

The French general also addressed the following commendatory and inspiring order of the day to his troops:—

Soldiers!—The combat of the 7th of June is a brilliant victory, from the *éclat* it throws upon our arms, and from the greatness of the results obtained. You have deserved well of the emperor. By courage and intrepidity you have captured from the enemy the three redoubts, armed with a powerful artillery, which formed the principal external defence of the town; sixty-two guns have remained in our hands; 400 prisoners, of whom fourteen are officers, are in our power. A later order of the day will proclaim to the army and to our country the names of the corps that took a glorious part in this struggle, and the names of those among you to whom the reward of valour is due. I content myself to-day with telling you that your task has been nobly done. In concert with our brave allies, we have made a decisive step in advance towards the object which, you may rest assured, our persevering efforts will not fail to attain. Soldiers! My confidence in you is unlimited, and your commander-in-chief is proud to think that you place yours in him.

The commander-in-chief,

PELISSIER.

Head-quarters before Sebastopol, June 8th.

It is to be regretted that the generals of the allied armies did not instantly follow up the advantage they had gained. This caused surprise at the time; and subsequent events showed it would have been better for them

if they had: however, for awhile, the allies relapsed into a state of comparative silence and repose. The generals probably wished to employ every means in their power to obtain a surer and less bloody success; but the sleepless enemy turned the delay to good account, by repairing and increasing his means of defence. The delay on the part of the allies was caused by the construction of new works on the ground gained. The Mamelon was a ruin; it had to be restored, and its guns pointed against the Russians; and although the Quarry did not admit of any extensive works, it was much exposed until its guns were turned with their mouths threatening their former masters. The Russians, however, did not seem in any way discouraged, but appeared resolved not to give way, except step by step, and to sell every advantage as dearly as possible. In the allied camps, the slackening of the fire and the postponement of the assault produced a general feeling of despondency and irritation amongst the men, and all felt that there was every prospect of the siege being indefinitely prolonged. To those brave fellows, fighting was a more welcome thing than waiting.

The attack was not resumed until the 17th, the new batteries being completed the day before. At daybreak on the 17th, a rocket shot up from one of the French batteries on the right of Careening Bay. At this signal, all the batteries in the French and English trenches opened a tremendous fire, which they continued throughout the day. So crushing and rapid was the fire, that it was generally agreed that if cannon could conquer the Russian fortifications, they were at length doomed to destruction. The enemy replied at first with great energy, but afterwards his firing grew very slack, and almost ceased from the Malakhoff and the Redan. It was supposed that this was the result of the cannonade, but it would seem that the Russians were merely economising their fire.

Under these circumstances, it was resolved to commence a simultaneous attack upon the Malakhoff and the Redan the next morning, and every heart beat high with the almost confident hope of success. It was intended that the artillery should resume their fire on the dawn of the 18th, and continue it for two hours before the assault, with the object of destroying any works the enemy might have raised in the night. At the request of General Pelissier,

Lord Raglan abandoned this intention, as the former had resolved, upon further consideration, that the French should commence their attack at three in the morning. The facility with which Lord Raglan yielded to the request of the French general, and consented, late on the evening of the 17th, to alter the arrangements for the following morning, subsequently became the subject of grave censure. The plan of attack originally proposed was, that the allies were to open a cannonade for two hours on the Malakhoff and Redan at dawn on the morning of the 18th; that the French were to assault the Malakhoff; and that as soon as it was taken, the English were to attack the Redan. This arrangement seemed necessary, because the latter work was commanded by the guns of the former, and could not therefore be carried or held until the Malakhoff was taken.

The French attacking force consisted of three divisions, numbering 25,000 men, and commanded respectively by generals Mayran, Brunet, and d'Autemarre. General Pelissier directed their proceedings from the Lancaster battery. The English troops, to the number of 8,000, were commanded by the brave old veteran, Sir George Brown. The men, consisting of detachments from the light, second, and fourth divisions, were also formed into three columns. Shortly after midnight of the 17th, the English troops moved down from their camp and entered the trenches, from which they were to issue forth on the works of the foe.

The Russians were well prepared for an attack which they had been so long allowed to anticipate. Shortly before three o'clock there was a sudden and unexpected fire of musketry between the Malakhoff and the Mamelon. The Russians had made a sortie against the French in their advanced trenches on the Mamelon. They were instantly swept back; but this little success gave an unfortunate impulse to the French troops, who, unable to control their ardour, rushed forward, and converted the repulse of the sortie into a premature attack upon the Malakhoff itself. This error was sanctioned by General Mayran mistaking a shell, with a blazing fusee, for the rocket which was to have been the signal for the attack. The sortie of the Russians, consisting of a very small force only, was probably a mere artifice, intended to lead the French on to a hurried assault, for which the enemy had prepared with that coolness and complete-

ness so often shown by Russian troops. The French dashed forward and mounted the hill; while others, pursuing the Russians who had made the sortie, followed them to the gorge of the work, and even gained admission into the work itself. Then they discovered the error they had committed through precipitation. The Russians showed themselves in overpowering numbers, and but few of our allies who had gained admission into the Malakhoff, effected their escape. The enemy crowded upon the parapets, and poured down from their rifles a deadly storm of bullets among the troops attempting to mount the hill; while the unsilenced guns of the Russians, placed in commanding positions, roared forth defiance and death. The Russian steamers in the harbour contributed to this fire, and the further advance of the French became impossible.

Lord Raglan, observing the dangerous position of our allies, gave the command for the English columns at once to leave the trenches and advance upon the Redan. The command was obeyed; the flank columns issued from the trenches, and were instantly assailed with a most murderous fire. It was not, said a witness, to be counted by guns; it was a raging storm—an incessant rain of grape and rifle-balls. Lord Raglan said, that he never before witnessed such a fire. All in front were struck dead or wounded. From some cause the men were obliged to issue from the trench in twos and threes, instead of in a firm unbroken body. The awful fire with which they were instantly received increased their want of order, and it became evident they were falling into confusion. Colonel Yea tried to obviate the evil. "This will never do!" exclaimed that brave soldier. "Where's the bugler to call them back?" No bugler was to be found; and as the gallant colonel rushed along the troubled mass of troops, endeavouring to get them into order for a rush at the batteries, he was struck by grape-shot at once in the head and stomach, and fell dead in front of his men. Many other officers fell, and it is an apparent miracle that any escaped. The Redan was filled with troops; the Russians were fully prepared for the attack; their artillery, so far from being exhausted, was pouring forth a fire that astonished and appalled our men, and nothing was left for them but to retire from the futile attack. The French, met as they had been, and probably disheartened

by the repulse of the English, were also compelled to give way to numbers, and return to their intrenchments. Their loss, during this fatal day, amounted in killed, wounded, or prisoners, to the alarming number of 8,684. For the particulars, we refer the reader to the annexed despatch of General Pelissier.

The second division of the English attacking party, seeing that the flank attacks had failed, kept under cover, and suffered but a trifling loss. Had they advanced, the carnage would have been much greater. This unfortunate affair lasted but fifteen minutes, by which time it became evident that the contest was perfectly hopeless.

"With our own men," said a writer from the camp, "the space to be passed over from our most advanced trenches to the Redan was somewhere about 700 yards; and from the first moment of their rushing over the parapet towards the point of attack, they were met by the same awful and annihilating storm of canister and grape. Many fell within the first dozen yards, and thence on to some broken ground about midway, in which the remainder sought cover: the field was strewn with the slain and wounded. An officer present in the affair, and who was one of the few who escaped uninjured, described the fire to me as being perfectly awful; much more severe than that which greeted our men at Alma, where he also fought and received a wound. Few of them reached the *abattis* in front of the work; none, I believe, ever saw the deep ditch which protects its approaches. Remembering the confusion which characterised the commencement of our movement, and coupling this with the murderous preparations made by the enemy, you will be at no loss to understand that success was most improbable. During the whole affair, Lord Raglan and Sir George Brown were ensconced within our 8-gun battery; but though this afforded a good view of the scene of the struggle, and of the disorder which marked it, for some reasons unknown to uninitiated spectators, they appeared unable to give any efficient directions for the correction of our multiplied blunders. When the whole sad scene was ended, our men straggled back by every safe avenue to the camp, in a state of dispirited confusion well in keeping with the mob-like disorder in which they had been throughout the assault. I know not what may have been the feelings of your home public on reading

the telegraphic news of our defeat (for I presume the scribes at head-quarters made no attempt to conceal the naked truth—that our repulse was neither more nor less than a defeat), but here mingled shame and indignation were general throughout the camp. Officers and men alike felt that disgrace had been incurred, and that in consequence solely of the unredeemed mismanagement of their generals. From drum-boys to colonels, a sense of humiliation filled every breast, the deeper that everybody was sensible that neither men nor regimental officers had shown themselves deficient in what, under proper guidance, would have commanded success.”

While the attack was proceeding, General Eyre, with a body of men, was sent to occupy the Cemetery, and threaten the works at the head of the Dockyard Creek. His force included the 18th royal Irish, who were to act as the storming regiment. The brigade marched down the road to the Cemetery, and halted under cover while preparations were being made for the attack. General Eyre, addressing the 18th, observed:—“I hope, my men, that this morning you will do something that will make every cabin in Ireland ring again.” This appeal was answered by a loud shout from the men—a demonstration of readiness which elicited a shower of grape from the enemy. When the general attack began, the skirmishers advanced, rushed at the Cemetery, which

was but feebly defended, and succeeded in getting possession of it. The enemy opened a heavy fire upon the place from the left of the Redan and from the Barrack battery. Four companies of the 18th then pushed forward from the Cemetery towards the town, and actually succeeded in getting possession of the suburb. The men drove the Russians out, and took possession of some of the houses. The battery quite overhangs the suburb, and the Russians were unable to depress their guns sufficiently to fire down upon our men; but they directed a sharp flanking fire upon them from an angle of the Redan works. The men kept close in the houses, and replied with a vigorous fire. They were also protected by the regiments in the Cemetery behind them, which directed their fire at the Russian embrasures, and thus prevented the enemy from directing their attention to the houses. Those into which the troops had forced their way were most of them comfortably furnished; some of them extremely so. Good wines were found in the cellars, and with these the soldiers made free; some of the officers also carried trifling articles away as remembrances of their having been in the place. The soldiers entered the houses at about four o'clock in the morning, and were unable to leave them until nine in the evening.* The Russians had blown up many houses, and set fire to others; and when the

* The following highly interesting letter, by a young soldier, a native of Belfast, conveying some particulars in connexion with this attack on the town of Sebastopol, will be read with pleasure:—

“Camp before Sebastopol, June 22nd.

“My dear cousin Kate,—You have heard about the action on the 18th; it was a most sanguinary one. On account of our staff situations, neither the paymaster, myself, nor the regimental clerks, were allowed to go into action with the regiment, so we were ordered to take charge of the camp along with two other sergeants; we volunteered to go with the regiment, but were told, if we dared to leave the camp, we should be tried by a court-martial. During the day I suffered great anxiety about John, who was along with the regiment, and, during the time the heavy firing was going on, I slipped out of camp and went down to the Picket-house battery, so that, if anything unfortunately happened to my brother, I would be near at hand to tend to his wants, as on account of the Picket-house battery being near the scene of action, the wounded were brought under it. However, most fortunately, thank God, he did not require my services, as he returned to camp safe, after the action was over, after many narrow escapes. During the time I was at the battery, an officer of the 38th regiment and I did all we could to relieve the sufferings of the poor wounded, in getting them conveyed to the general hospital—getting them water, &c.; for the day was very warm. My dear

Kate, you can have no idea of the horrors of war; it was awful to look at these poor wounded fellows suffering under every description of wounds, through heads, necks, bodies, arms, and legs—some in the pangs of death, blaspheming, others raving, while others were praying, while the blood trickled from their wounds—such ghastly wounds. One poor fellow was severely wounded with grape. The officer asked him if it was grape that caused the wound? ‘Yes, sir,’ he replied, ‘it was d— sour grape to me.’ The most of them bore their sufferings very patiently. The 2nd brigade of the third division to which the 5th regiment belongs, were the only troops engaged on the left. Some of the men of the regiment told me that Johnny behaved most gallantly in leading on the men along with the officers when under fire in charging the Cemetery plain and gardens, where they were compelled to take shelter behind the houses there, on account of their small numbers. They could neither advance or retire. They would have taken the Garden batteries had the Round Tower on the right been taken by our troops there. I hear that the divisions on the right had taken the Round Tower twice, but were compelled to evacuate it in consequence of the Russian shipping raking the tower, and retired with heavy loss; and, had the troops on the left taken the Garden batteries, they could not have held them, as the Round Tower completely covered them. During the time the brigade was charging through the Cemetery plain and gar-

men retired, the flames were spreading along the street. The 9th regiment also entered the houses in two or three places. A sergeant and a few men actually got possession of the Little Wasp battery, but they were soon driven out by the Russians, when the latter perceived the smallness of their numbers. An officer, with only twelve men, took one of the Russian rifle pits, bayoneted those whom they found there, and held possession of it throughout the day. The losses of these venturesome troops under General Eyre, were, as may be expected, extremely heavy; they amounted to thirty-one officers, forty-four sergeants, and 487 rank and file killed or wounded. The entry of the troops into the suburbs of the town of Sebastopol, was the most extraordinary part of the events of the day, and shows what probably might have been done, had the British been in great force upon that point. During the day, the first division of

dens, they were exposed to a most galling fire of grape, round shot, shell, and musketry, and even when under shelter of the houses, the enemy never ceased firing at them, tumbling the houses and walls down; some of the regiment were in rifle pits, and if one dared to show himself he was instantly struck down; they had to remain there until dark, when they returned to camp. The 9th regiment had three officers wounded (one has since died), eight privates killed, two sergeants and forty-three privates wounded; each regiment in the brigade furnished one sergeant and thirty rank and file volunteers for the forlorn hope or advanced guard; these gallant fellows actually got into the houses of Sebastopol, which they plundered according to the custom of war. Enclosed is a perforated cardboard pattern for my dear Louisa, which was taken from a house at Sebastopol (in which a Russian general lived) by one of the men of the regiment, who gave it to me; he told me that when he and some others broke into the house, after driving the Russians away, they found a woman and four children in it; as soon as they saw the English soldiers, they supplicated for mercy, but our gallant fellows were too generous to harm them, and made signs that they had nothing to fear from them; so they retired to a corner, where they remained until our men left the house. The man who gave me the cardboard came to camp laden with plunder. I shall enumerate the articles I saw with him—viz., a general's gold-laced hat, a guinea-pig, a valuable microscope, the cardboard, knives and forks, a most ingenious Russian toy, some plates, some bottles containing wine and rum, a pair of lady's satin slippers (the lady who wore them must have had a remarkably small foot.) How he managed to carry them all surprised me. While in the house they destroyed beautiful pianos, ladies' and gentlemen's wardrobes, mirrors, &c.; but while there he said they did not neglect their duty; when they returned to camp their forage caps were gaily decorated with gold lace and satin ribands. The brigade returned to camp at dark, and through some mismanagement of high authorities they were forced to relinquish the position they had so gallantly taken

the army, consisting of the guards and the highland regiments, was on duty as a reserve in the trenches. It has been suggested, and we think with much reason, that had that intrepid and powerful corps been flung at once upon the Barrack battery, into which the Irish had already penetrated, the fortune of the day might have been reversed. The total loss, in killed and wounded, of the English on the 18th, including a long list of veteran officers, amounted to 1,473; which was thus classified: ninety-three officers, one hundred sergeants, nine drummers, and 1,271 rank and file.

During the attack, the allied fleets off Sebastopol played their part, and on the nights of the 16th and 17th, they discharged a heavy fire on the town and sea-defences, and poured in flights of rockets. They did not render this assistance without danger and loss to themselves. The *Princess Royal* had one man killed and two after suffering severe losses and behaving most creditably under a galling fire. Colonel Borton, commanding officer of the regiment, and who was foremost in the action, told the men when they were assembled on parade next morning, that he never saw heavier firing (he having been through the Cabul and Sutlej campaigns in India), and felt proud of his regiment, and could place dependence on them, no matter where they went to. My comrade sergeant was sergeant to the 9th regiment, forlorn hope, and he gave me a fine description of what he saw. He and a number of men under his command were in one of the most advanced houses, within a few yards of another house occupied by Russian soldiers, and one of the Russians fired out of a window at our fellows, and after he fired he said (for he could speak English), 'Take that you d—— English! and one of the 9th, a wild young Irish fellow, immediately fired out of a window at him in return, saying, 'Take that, you d—— Russian.' This interchange of compliments continued for some time until the Russian was winged. Colonel Borton showed great bravery. When the regiment was going to advance, he ran out in front and roared out, after casting his eye along the line, and waving his sword, 'Up, up, 9th! come along, my lads!' 'Yes, sir,' they replied; 'we will follow you wherever you go!' Johnny told me this, for he was along with the colonel. The colonel is one of the most handsome men I ever saw. John also told me that he saw four men carrying a wounded officer on a stretcher to the rear, and they had to pass through all the heavy fire; for, as soon as the dastardly Russians saw the brave fellows employed on their charitable mission (for they left a comparatively secure cover for the purpose of having their wounded officer medically attended to), they poured all their fire on them; but God in his mercy protected them, as only one of them was wounded, although shot, shell, and grape ploughed the earth around them. When Colonel Borton saw them, he exclaimed, 'Ah, they are truly British soldiers!' What a meaning is conveyed in that one sentence!—volumes expressed."

wounded; the *Sidon*, two men killed and eleven wounded. It was on this occasion, also, that the brave Captain Lyons, the hero of the Sea of Azoff, received the severe wound which eventually caused his death. But it was not by water alone that our seamen assisted in this unfortunate attack: a naval brigade, consisting of four parties of sixty men each, accompanied the troops, carrying scaling-ladders and woolbags, which they were to place for the storming parties. Only two of these parties went out, the others being kept in reserve: how they did their work is evidenced by the fact that ten were killed, forty-one wounded, and one was missing. Four men were killed and three wounded by the bursting of one of our 68-pounders, which weighed ninety-five ewt. Among those wounded by this accident was Major Stuart Wortley. When our soldiers were driven back by the hell-storm hurled against them from the Russian rifles and batteries, several naval officers and seamen who were wounded were unavoidably left behind, and endured dreadful agonies for hours, without a cup of water or a cheering voice to comfort them. Some who had been but slightly struck contrived to return to their comrades. Amongst these was Lieutenant Ermiston, who, after lying for five hours under the *abattis* of the Redan, contrived to get away with only a contusion of the knee. Mr. Kennedy, senior mate of the *London*, after some hours of painful concealment, rolled himself over and over like a ball down the declivity, and managed to get back into the trench. The fate of Lieutenant Kidd was a painful one, and elicits emotions of sympathy and admiration. Having got safely back to the trench, he was receiving the congratulations of a brother-officer, when he saw a wounded soldier lying outside exposed to the fire of the enemy. "We must go and save him!" exclaimed the generous man, and at once leaped over the parapet in order to do so. A few moments after, a bullet entered his breast and inflicted a death-wound; he survived only an hour.

We shall here append copies of the despatches by Lord Raglan and General Pelissier relative to this fatal action. A melancholy interest pervades the former, for it is almost the last he wrote. The old soldier was rapidly breaking down amid the harass and hardships of this protracted struggle, and the shadow of death was already upon him. Anxiety, overwork, a painful sense of

responsibility, and probably a fear of the too evident truth, that his ability had been overtaxed—that he was not the man to triumph over the gigantic difficulties by which he was surrounded, and out of the gloom and uncertainty of which he could not see his way, had undermined his hardy constitution, and were fast extinguishing the flickering lamp of life. Added to this, there was a difference of opinion between him and the stern Pelissier; the latter considered that Lord Raglan did not display the energy and activity which ought to be expected from him, and that the interests of the allies were endangered by the sluggish councils or movements of the generals of the British army. It was even said that a paragraph in the despatch of General Pelissier, reflecting on Lord Raglan, was discreetly omitted by the French government, for fear of giving offence to the English. However this may be, much of the camp-gossip attributed the failure of both French and English, on the 18th, to the impetuosity of Pelissier himself.

Before Sebastopol, June 19th.

My Lord,—I informed your lordship, on the 16th, that new batteries had been completed, and that in consequence the allies would be enabled to resume the offensive against Sebastopol with the utmost vigour. Accordingly, on the 17th, at daylight a very heavy fire was opened from all the batteries in the English and French trenches, and maintained throughout the day, and the effect produced appeared so satisfactory that it was determined that the French should attack the Malakhoff works the next morning, and that the English should assail the Redan as soon after as I might consider it desirable. It was at first proposed that the artillery fire should be resumed on the morning of the 18th, and should be kept up for about two hours, for the purpose of destroying any works the enemy might have thrown up in the night, and of opening passages through the *abattis* that covered the Redan; but on the evening of the 17th it was intimated to me by General Pelissier that he had determined, upon further consideration, that the attack by his troops should take place at three the following morning.

The French therefore commenced their operations as day broke; and as their several columns came within range of the enemy's fire, they encountered the most serious opposition both from musketry and the guns in the works which had been silenced the

previous evening, and, observing this, I was induced at once to order our columns to move out of the trenches upon the Redan. It had been arranged that detachments from the light, second, and fourth divisions, which I placed for the occasion under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir G. Brown, should be formed into three columns; that the right one should attack the left face of the Redan between the flanking batteries; that the centre should advance upon the salient angle; and that the left should move upon the re-entering angle formed by the right face and flank of the work, the first and last preceding the centre column. The flank columns at once obeyed the signal to advance, preceded by covering parties of the rifle brigade, and by sailors carrying ladders and soldiers carrying woolbags; but they had no sooner shown themselves beyond the trenches than they were assailed by a most murderous fire of grape and musketry. Those in advance were either killed or wounded, and the remainder found it impossible to proceed. I never before witnessed such a continued and heavy fire of grape combined with musketry from the enemy's works, which appeared to be fully manned; and the long list of killed and wounded in the light and fourth divisions, and the seamen of the naval brigade, under Captain Peel, who was unfortunately wounded, though not severely, will show that a very large proportion of those that went forward fell. Major-general Sir John Campbell, who led the left attack, and Colonel Shadforth, of the 57th, who commanded the storming party under his direction, were both killed, as was also Colonel Yea, of the royal fusileers, who led the right column.

I cannot say too much in praise of these officers. Major-general Sir J. Campbell had commanded the fourth division from the period of the battle of Inkermann till the arrival, very recently, of Lieutenant-general Bentinek. He had devoted himself to his duty without any intermission, and had acquired the confidence and respect of all. I most deeply lament his loss. Colonel Shadforth had maintained the efficiency of his regiment by constant attention to all the details of his command, and Colonel Yea was not only distinguished for his gallantry, but had exercised his control of the royal fusileers in such a manner as to win the affections of the soldiers under his orders, and to secure to them every

comfort and accommodation which his personal exertions could procure for them.

I have not any definite information upon the movements of the French columns, and the atmosphere became so obscured by the smoke from the guns and musketry, that it was not possible by personal observation to ascertain their progress, though I was particularly well situated for the purpose; but I understand that their left column, under General d'Autemarre, passed the advanced works of the enemy and threatened the gorge of the Malakhoff Tower; and that the two other columns, under generals Mayran and Brunet, who both, I regret to say, were killed, met with obstacles equal to those we encountered, and were obliged in consequence to abandon the attack. The superiority of our fire on the day we opened, led both General Pelissier and myself, and the officers of the artillery and engineers of the two services, and the armies in general, to conclude that the Russian artillery fire was, in a great measure, subdued, and that the operation we projected could be undertaken with every prospect of success. The result has shown that the resources of the enemy were not exhausted, and that they had still the power, either from their ships or from their batteries, to bring an overwhelming fire upon their assailants. While the direct attack upon the Redan was proceeding, Lieutenant-general Sir R. England was directed to send one of the brigades of the third division, under the command of Major-general Barnard, down the Woronzoff ravine, with a view to give support to the attacking columns on his right, and the other brigade, under Major-general Eyre, still further to the left, to threaten the works at the head of the Dockyard Creek.

I have not yet received their reports, and shall not be able to send them to your lordship to-day; but General Eyre was very seriously engaged, and he himself wounded, though I am happy to say not severely, and he possessed himself of a churchyard which the enemy had hitherto carefully watched, and some houses within the place; but, as the town front was not attacked, it became necessary to withdraw his brigade at night. I am concerned to have to inform you that Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the royal engineers, whose services I have had the greatest pleasure in bringing so frequently to your lordship's notice, is very severely wounded. The account I received of him this morning is upon the whole satisfactory.

and I entertain strong hopes that his valuable life will be preserved.

I feel greatly indebted to Sir G. Brown for the manner in which he conducted the duties I intrusted to him; and my warmest acknowledgments are due to Major-general Harry Jones, not only for his valuable assistance on the present occasion, but for the able, zealous, and energetic manner in which he has conducted the siege operations since he assumed the command of the royal engineers. He received a wound from a grape-shot in the forehead yesterday, which I trust will not prove serious. I brought up the first division from the vicinity of Balaklava as a reserve, and I shall retain them on these heights. The Sardinian troops, under General La Marmora, and the Turkish troops, under Omar Pasha, crossed the Tchernaya on the 17th inst., and occupy positions in front of Tchorgoun. They have not come in contact with any large body of the enemy. I have, &c.,

Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

Copy of the despatch of General Pelissier:—

Head-quarters before Sebastopol, June 22nd.

Monsieur le Maréchal,—Since the capture of the external works on the 7th of June, I had rapidly made every arrangement to make them the basis of our attack against the *enceinte* itself of the Karabelnaia. We armed them with powerful artillery; the Russian communications and *places d'armes* were turned to our own use; the ground plan of attack studied in detail; the allied armies had their respective tasks allotted to them. The English were to storm the great Redan, and we were to carry the Malakhoff Tower, the redan of the Careening Bay, and the intrenchments which cover that extremity of the faubourg. It is superfluous, M. le Maréchal, to point out to your excellency what would have been the result of such an operation if it had succeeded. Since our last successes the attitude of the enemy and the enthusiasm of our troops promised victory. There was no time to be lost. In concert with Lord Raglan, on the 17th, we poured a crushing fire into Sebastopol, especially into the works we intended storming. At an early hour the enemy ceased replying from the Malakhoff and from the Redan. It is probable they were economising their batteries and fire, and that they did not suffer so much from the effects of our artillery as we were led to

presume. However that may be, the superiority of our guns confirmed us in our plan for making an assault on the 18th, and on the night before we made all the necessary arrangements for a general movement on the morrow.

Three divisions were to take part in the combat—the divisions of Mayran and Brunet, of the 2nd corps; the division d'Autemarre of the 1st. The division of the imperial guard formed the reserve. Mayran's division had the right attack, and was to carry the intrenchments which extend from the battery of the point to the redan of Careening Bay. Brunet's division was to turn the Malakhoff on the right. D'Autemarre's division was to manœuvre on the left to carry that important work.

General Mayran's task was a difficult one. His 1st brigade, commanded by Colonel Saurin, of the 3rd Zouaves, was to advance from the ravine of Careening Bay as far as the aqueduct, to creep along the left hill side of the ravine, avoiding as much as possible the fire of the enemy's lines, and to turn the battery of the point by the gorge. The 2nd brigade, commanded by General de Failly, was to make an attempt on the right of the redan of Carcening Bay. They were provided with everything necessary to scale the works. The special reserve of this division consisted of two battalions of the 1st regiment of the voltigeurs of the guard. All these troops were ready at their post at an early hour. Brunet's division had one of its brigades in advance and to the right of the Brancion redoubt (Mamelon), the other in the parallel in the rear and to the right of that redoubt. A similar arrangement was made as regards d'Autemarre's division—Niël's brigade in advance and to the left of the Mamelon; Breton's brigade in the parallel in the rear. Two batteries of artillery, which could be served *à la bricole*, were placed behind the Brancion redoubt (Mamelon), ready to occupy the enemy's positions in case we succeeded in carrying them. The division of the imperial guard, forming the general reserve of the three attacks, was drawn up in a body in the rear of the Victoria redoubt.

I selected the Lancaster battery for my post, from which I was to give the signal by star rockets for the general advance. Notwithstanding great difficulties of ground, notwithstanding the obstacles accumulated by the enemy, and although the Russians, evidently informed of our plans, were on

their guard ready to repel an attack, I am inclined to think that if the attack could have been general and instantaneous on the whole extent of the line—if there had been a simultaneous action and *ensemble* in the efforts of our brave troops—the object would have been achieved. Unhappily, it was not so, and an inconceivable fatality caused us to fail.

I was still at more than 1,000 metres from the place whence I was to give the signal, when a violent fire of musketry, intermixed with grape, apprised me that the combat had commenced seriously on the right. In fact, a little before three, A.M., General Mayran fancied he recognised my signal in a shell with a blazing fusee sent up from the Brancion redoubt. It was in vain that he was informed of his mistake.

This brave and unfortunate general gave the order for the attack. The Saurin and De Failly columns immediately rushed forward; the first rush was magnificent; but scarcely were these heads of columns in march, when a shower of balls and grape was poured in upon them. This crushing fire came not only from the works which we wished to carry, but also from the enemy's steamers, which came up at full steam and manœuvred with great skill and effect. We, however, caused them some damage. This prodigious fire stopped the efforts of our troops. It became impossible for our soldiers to advance, but not a man retired one step; it was at this moment that General Mayran, already hit in two places, was knocked down by a grapeshot, and was compelled to resign the command of his division. All this was the work of a moment, and General Mayran was already carried off the field of battle when I sent up the signal from the Lancaster battery. The other troops then advanced to support the premature movement of the right division. That valiant division, for a moment disconcerted by the loss of its general, promptly rallied at the voice of General de Failly. The troops engaged, supported by the 2nd battalion of the 95th of the line and by a battalion of the voltigeurs of the guard, under the orders of the brave Colonel Boudville, hold a footing in a bend of the ground where the general places them, and boldly maintain their position there. Informed, however, of this position, which might become critical, I ordered General Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely to send four battalions of the voltigeurs of the guard,

taken from the general reserve, to the support of that division. Generals Mellinet Ulrich marched with that fine body of men, rallied the stragglers in the ravine of Careening Bay, and gave a solid support to General de Failly, by occupying the bottom of the ravine.

General Mellinet, in person, advanced to the right of General de Failly at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, placed the evening before to defend the ravine, and was of great service to him by covering his right. The attack on the centre had not a better fate. General Brunet had not yet completed all his arrangements, when the signal-rockets were fired. The whole of the right was already prematurely engaged for more than twenty to twenty-five minutes. The troops, nevertheless, resolutely advanced; but their valour was of no avail against the well-sustained fire of the Russians, and against unforeseen obstacles. At the very outset, General Brunet fell mortally wounded by a ball in the chest. The flag of the 91st was cut in two by a ball, but it is needless to add that its fragments were brought back by that gallant regiment. General Lafont de Villiers took the command of the division, and intrusted that of the troops engaged to Colonel Lorencez. The latter held firm while the remainder of the division occupied the trenches to provide against the eventualities of the combat. To the left, General d'Autemarre could not go into action before Brunet's division, nor could he explain the hasty fusillade he heard in the direction of Careening Bay; but at the signal agreed upon for the attack, he threw forward with impetuosity the 5th *chasseurs-à-pied* and the 1st battalion of the 19th of the line, which, following the ridge of the Karabelnaia ravine, arrived at the intrenchment which connects it with the Malakhoff Tower, scaled the intrenchment, and entered into the *enceinte* itself. The sappers of the engineers were already placing the scaling-ladders for the remainder of the 19th and 26th regiments, who were hurrying up, by order of General d'Autemarre, to follow his gallant column. For an instant we believed in success. Our eagles were planted on the Russian works. Unhappily, that hope was promptly dispelled. Our allies had met with such obstacles in their attack on the Grand Redan, they had been received with such a fearful shower of grape, that, despite their well-known tenacity, they had already been obliged to beat a retreat.

Such was the spirit of our troops, that, despite this circumstance, they would have pushed on and charged down upon the enemy; but the want of simultaneity in the attack of our divisions, permitted the Russians to fall upon us with their reserves and with the artillery of the great Redan, and the enemy did not lose a moment in advancing all the other reserves of the Karabelnaia against our brave *chasseurs-à-pied*.

Before so imposing a force Commandant Garnier, of the 5th battalion, already struck by five balls, endeavoured, but in vain, to maintain the conquered ground. Compelled to give way to numbers, he recrossed the intrenchments. General Niel came up to support his brigade, reinforced by the 30th of the line; a new offensive movement was attempted, to ensure the success of the new effort; and on a message from General d'Autemarre, to the effect that his reserve was reduced to the 74th of the line, I sent him the regiment of Zouaves of the guard; but on the arrival of those hardy veterans of our African campaigns, as the movement had no longer any desirable *ensemble* for so vigorous a blow, with a single division without support either on the right or on the left, and cut up by the artillery of the Redan, the attack upon which had been relinquished by our allies, I at once saw that all chance of success was over. Another effort would only have led to useless bloodshed. It was half-past eight o'clock, and I ordered a general retreat to the trenches. This movement was carried out proudly, with order and coolness, and without the enemy following us on any point. A portion of the Russian trenches remained even occupied by some of our men, who evacuated them gradually, without the enemy daring to turn their advantage to account against them.

Our losses have been great. We took care, at the very commencement of the action, to carry off most of our wounded. But a certain number of those glorious dead remained lying on the glacis or in the ditches of the place. The last duties were rendered to them the following day. Besides General Brunet and General Mayran (who died during the night), we have to deplore the loss of an officer beloved and appreciated by the whole army, the young and brave lieutenant-colonel of artillery De Laboursinière, killed while scaling the reverse of a trench obstructed by troops on his way from one of his batteries to the Brancion

redoubt. It is a great loss. In him were the germs of future promise. A number of brave superior officers have been wounded while showing the most noble example. The officers of the staff and of the troops worthily performed their duties, and the conduct of the men was admirable everywhere. We had thirty-seven officers killed, and seventeen taken prisoners; 1,544 non-commissioned officers and privates killed or missing. On the evening of the 18th, ninety-six officers, and 1,644 men went to the ambulances. Many wounds at first thought very serious, will ultimately prove not to be so. The bearers of these honourable scars will shortly rejoin their colours.

These losses have not shaken either the ardour or the confidence of these valiant divisions. They only ask to make the enemy pay dearly for this day's work. The hope and the will to conquer are in every heart, and all count upon it that in the next struggle fortune will not play false to valour.

PELISSIER,

Commander-in-chief.

The Russian account of this engagement, published in the *Invalide Russe*, is almost too technical to be of much interest to our readers. It observed—"Our losses during the bombardment of the 17th and 18th of June, and during the assault, consist of one superior officer, four subalterns, and 530 men killed; six superior officers, forty-two subalterns, and about 3,378 men wounded." After referring to the loss of the allies, the amount of which it was unacquainted with, it thus concluded:—"Such is the recital of this unexampled exploit of the garrison of Sebastopol, which, after nine months of siege and three terrible bombardments, repulsed the desperate assault of the enemy, occasioned them an immense loss, and, with heroic devotion, is still ready to meet any new attempt on their part."

On the 19th of June, Prince Gortschakoff issued the following triumphant proclamation to the Russian troops:—

Comrades!—The sanguinary combat of yesterday, and the defeat of a despairing enemy, have again crowned our arms with immortal laurels. Russia owes you a debt of gratitude, which she will pay. Thousands of our comrades in arms have sealed with their blood the oath they have taken, and have thus redeemed the word I gave to the emperor, our common father. Accept my best thanks for it.

Comrades! Considerable reinforcements are on their way to us from every part of our holy Russia. They will soon be here. Oppose, as you have hitherto done, your manly chests to the murderous balls of our impious enemies, and die as thousands of our comrades have hitherto done, sword in hand, in an honourable struggle, man against man, chest against chest, rather than violate the oath you have sworn to the emperor and to our country, to keep Sebastopol.

Soldiers! The enemy is beaten, driven back with enormous loss. Allow your commander to repeat his gratitude to you in the name of the emperor, our august monarch, in the name of our country, of our holy and orthodox Russia. The hour is approaching when the pride of the enemy will be lowered, their armies swept from our soil like chaff blown away by the wind. Till then let us put trust in God, and let us fight for the emperor and for our country.

Let this order of the day be read to every company and squadron of the army.

GORTSCHAKOFF.

The day following the contest, an armistice was necessary for the collection of the wounded and the burial of the dead, and this time the allies had to make application for it. As some hesitation had been shown in granting a similar favour to the Russians, on account of the improper use they made of the time during which the flags of truce were waving, they would not at first reply to the request of the allies. The day was extremely hot, and the rays of a fierce sun shot down upon the dead, and upon the wretched, fainting wounded, who lay in misery, parched with thirst and racked with fever. The Russians would not consent to a truce until four in the afternoon, by which time the poor wounded men had lain unassisted for thirty dreary hours upon the ground. They might be seen faintly waving their caps, or making signals; but their comrades were unable to leave the works and go out to their assistance until the Russians pleased to hoist the white flag. At length it was hoisted above the Redan tower, and the Russians threw out a line of sentries along their works in front of the *abattis* which guards them. The English and the French also posted lines of sentries opposite the Redan and before the Mamelon. The searching parties issued out on their sad duty; the wounded were rescued from among the dead, and the latter con-

signed to their rude and shallow graves. Those not engaged in these melancholy labours were not permitted either to go out, to get upon the parapets, or to look over. The Russian soldiers also seemed to be kept back by their officers; but they crowded on the top of the Redan and Malakhoff parapets, and appeared to regard the proceedings with great interest. The ground between our attack and the Redan was covered with long rank grass and weeds, mingled with large stones, with graves, and with holes made by shot or shells. The grass also was seamed with grapeshot in all directions, in a manner which looked as if ploughs had been constantly drawn over it. The dead were strewn thickly about, especially close to the *abattis* of the Redan, where many of the bodies had probably been dragged during the night for the purpose of plundering them. Poor Colonel Yea's body was found near this spot. His boots and epaulettes were gone, and his head so swollen that his features were scarcely distinguishable. The body of Colonel Shadforth was discovered in a similar condition. The shattered frame of Sir John Campbell, already fast decomposing, lay close to the *abattis*. The body was removed and buried on Cathcart's-hill, his favourite resort; and where, but the evening before his death, he had been standing, talking and laughing but a few feet from the spot so soon destined to become his grave. The loss of so many brave men caused a feeling of despondency throughout the camp; and it is said that Lord Raglan was peculiarly touched by it. The prospects of the allies were overcast with gloom; but there was no despair, and it was supposed that aggressive efforts would soon be renewed.

We are almost ashamed to be under such great obligations to Mr. Russell; but many of his pictures, sketched on the spot, are so picturesque and natural, that to attempt a brief paraphrase of the most vital portions would be both unsatisfactory and injurious. From his brilliant letters we quote the following description of the truce:—

"The bodies of many a brave officer whom I knew in old times—old times of the war, for men's lives are short here, and the events of a life are compressed into a few hours—were borne past us in silence, and now and then, wonderful to relate, men with severe wounds were found still living and able to give expression to their sufferings by moans and sighs of pain. The spirit of some of

these noble fellows triumphed over all their bodily agonies. 'General!' exclaimed a sergeant of the 18th royal Irish to Brigadier Eyre as he came near the place in the Cemetery where the poor fellow lay with both his legs broken by a round shot, 'thank God, *we* did *our* work, any way. Had I another pair of legs, the country and you would be welcome to them!' Many men in hospital, after losing leg or arm, said they 'would not have cared if they had only beaten the Russians.' The tortures endured by the wounded were very great; they lay in holes made by shells, and were frequently fired at by the Russian riflemen when they rolled about in their misery. Some of our men, however, report that the enemy treated them kindly, and even brought them water out of the embrasures. They pulled all the bodies of our officers which lay within reach up to the *abattis*, and took off their epaulettes, when they had any, and their boots, but did not strip them. It was observed that the ditch of the *abattis* was in excellent order—that the *chevaux-de-frise* had been repaired, and were very strong, and that every effort had been used up to the moment before we assaulted to render it, as it was, a formidable obstacle to our advance. It is said that the bottom of the ditch was filled with bayonets, fixed firmly in the earth; and there is a report that the Russians were employed during the night of the 17th in repairing the *abattis* itself where it was injured by our cannon. I have already tried to describe the nature of the ground in the front of the *abattis*. It was in itself a considerable impediment to regularity of formation. A line of sentries was formed by the Russians as our burying parties came out, and they advanced so far in front of the *abattis* that General Airey was obliged to remonstrate with an aide-de-camp of General Osten-Sacken, who ordered them to retire nearer to the *abattis*. It was observed that these men were remarkably fine tall, muscular, and soldier-like fellows, and one could not but contrast them with some of the poor weakly-looking boys who were acting as privates in our regiments, or with the small undergrown men of the French line. They were unusually well dressed, in clean new uniforms, and were no doubt picked out to impose upon us. Many of them wore medals, and seemed veteran soldiers. Their officers had also turned out with unusual care, and wore white kid gloves, patent leather boots, and white linen.

The mass of the Russians were gathered on the towering parapets of the Redan and Malakhoff, and were not permitted to come to the front. Their working parties brought out all our dead, and laid them in front of their line of sentries, whence our people carried them away. The precautions which had been taken to prevent officers and men getting through the lines sufficed to keep any great crowd away, but the officers on duty and the lucky men, and some amateurs, who managed to get through the lines, formed groups in front of the Redan, and entered into conversation with a few of the Russian officers. There was, however, more reserve and gravity in the interview than has been the case on former occasions of the kind. One stout elderly Russian of rank asked one of our officers 'How are you off for food?' 'Oh! we get everything we want; our fleet secures that.' 'Yes,' remarked the Russian, with a knowing wink, 'Yes; but there's one thing you're not so well off for, and your fleet can't supply you, and that's sleep.' 'We're at least as well off for that as you are' was the rejoinder. Another officer, in the course of conversation, asked if we really thought, after our experience of the defence they could make, that we could take Sebastopol. 'We must; France and England are determined to take it.' 'Ah! well,' said the other, 'Russia is determined France and England shall not have it, and we'll see who has the strongest will, and can lose most men.' In the midst of these brief interviews, beginning and ending with bows and salutes, and inaugurated by the concession of favours relating to cigars and lights, the soldiers bore dead bodies by, consigning the privates to the burial-grounds near the trenches, and carrying off the wounded and the bodies of the officers to the camp. Poor Forman's body was one of the first found; it was far in advance of where he came out of the trench with his company of the rifle brigade, and it was terribly torn with shot. It was generally observed by some of the surgeons, however, that the wounds were cleaner than they have been in previous engagements. This is somewhat remarkable, for the Russians fired all kinds of missiles,—bags of nails and fragments of bullets, shells, and balls, as well as grape and canister. They were seen as we advanced 'shovelling' the shot into the muzzles of the guns. No one can deny many of their officers the praise of extreme bravery and devotion. In the

midst of our fire they got up on the top and on the outside of the parapets, and directed the fire of their men upon us. Several of them were knocked over by round shot, shell, and rifle-balls, while exposing themselves in this manner; but it scarcely speaks well for their soldiers that they felt it necessary to set them such examples. Colonel Dickson succeeded in obtaining Lord Raglan's permission to open on the Russians from the 21-gun battery, and swept them away in numbers as they crowded out to fire on our broken columns and on our wounded men and fugitives.

"The armistice lasted for upwards of two hours, and when it was over we retired from the spot so moistened with our blood. All the advantage we gained by the assault was the capture of the Cemetery, and even that we had nearly abandoned, owing to the timidity of one of our generals. As you have already learnt, the men in the Cemetery and houses suffered severely during the 18th from the enemy's fire, and the soldiers in the latter were not able to withdraw till nightfall. It was left to one of the generals of division to say what should be done with the Cemetery, and he gave orders to abandon it. On the following morning an officer of engineers, Lieutenant Donnelly, heard to his extreme surprise that the position for which we had paid so dearly was not in our possession. He appreciated its value—he saw that the Russians had not yet advanced to reoccupy it. With the utmost zeal and energy he set to work among the officers in the trenches, and begged and borrowed some thirty men, with whom he crept down into the Cemetery, just before the flag of truce was hoisted. As soon as the armistice began the Russians flocked down to the Cemetery, which they supposed to be undefended, but to their great surprise they found our thirty men posted there as sentries, who warned them back, and in the evening the party was strengthened, and we are now constructing most valuable works and batteries there, in spite of a heavy fire, which occasions us considerable loss. Such is the story that is going the round of the camp. Lord Raglan is said to have found fault with General Eyre for losing so many men, but the latter observed, 'that he had done what he was ordered, and that he *had* taken the Cemetery.' There can be no doubt but that our troops could have got into the town in the rear of the Redan from the houses on the 18th, had they been strong

enough to advance from the Cemetery. Whether they could have maintained themselves there under the fire of forts, ships, and batteries, is another question. It is now shrewdly suspected that inside the Redan, behind those outward and visible walls of earth, there is another very strong work—a kind of star fort of earth with sunken batteries—and it is certain that inside the Malakhoff works there are several lines of battery which have never been unmasked."

It is mentioned in the despatch of Lord Raglan, descriptive of the engagement of the 18th, that on the preceding day the Turkish and Sardinian troops had crossed the Tchernaya and occupied positions in front of Tchorgoun. The object of the movement was to make a diversion in the direction of Bakshiserai, while the assault was made on the Malakhoff and Redan, and thus draw off the attention of the enemy. A few words concerning this expedition will not be out of place. Though in winter the Tchernaya is an impetuous mountain stream, inundating the whole flat country on each side of it, it dwindles down to an insignificant rivulet, which can be passed nearly anywhere during the summer. The Turks and Sardinians crossed the river at sunrise, the former taking the road to Karlova, or Lower Tchorgoun, and the latter that which led to Upper Tchorgoun. While approaching the river some Russian bayonets were seen glittering among the brushwood, and a few shots were fired by the enemy, but without effect. As the Turks advanced, the Russians deemed it prudent to retire. The country in this direction is extremely beautiful, and every turn in the road brought the invaders to a more picturesque point. The Tchernaya flows chiefly through a gorge, through which there is scarcely room for the water to pass; on one spot the gorge widens and reveals a lovely and secluded dell, in which a small white house forms a pleasant contrast to the rugged rocks by which it is surrounded.

The troops encamped for the night on the heights immediately above the little village of Koutsca. As the baggage and tents were left behind, the soldiers prepared shelters from the sun and the night air, with the brushwood which grew in profusion around. The Turkish soldiers are very skilful in this employment; they made famous bowers, and places almost resembling houses for their officers. In the evening the hill-

side glared with fires, and the soldiers, who had been fortunate enough to obtain some sheep, gave themselves up to enjoyment. In every company were large fires, with an entire sheep roasting on the spit, after the Albanian fashion. Water and fire are the two necessary elements for the Turkish soldier: he can get on in a starving condition, and not think a deficiency of food any great hardship; but without plenty of water and a good fire, he is dejected and miserable. The following day, and for several succeeding ones, the Turks and Sardinians made military promenades, but without encountering the enemy.

Our Mussulman and Italian allies were joined in their pleasant quarters by the 10th hussars, and several *reconnaissances* were made. One, on the 26th of June, was into the much-famed valley of Baidar. "This place," said a writer who accompanied the expedition, "the object of the never-tiring enthusiasm of Russian poets, is certainly not an ill-chosen favourite. Fancy one of the best wooded English lakes—for instance, Derwentwater, several times magnified, and instead of its clear waters, a beautiful park, with aged oaks and every variety of forest trees substituted, with small mountain streams intersecting it, and with half-a-dozen neat villages peeping through the trees on the side of the surrounding mountains. The illusion that you are in a park is heightened by the circumstance, that, with the exception of the Woronzoff-road, all the other roads are grass roads, and that there are no corn-fields, only rich swards: the Tartars of the valley were, in autumn and spring, so much occupied in forced labour for the construction of the roads, that no time remained for sowing."

Each day the French and Piedmontese sent out foraging parties to cut grass, but they did not give themselves much trouble in that respect, as they found plenty of hayricks all ready. The French sent a train of arabas, and carried most of this away. On the 6th of July, the Turks, Sardinians, and others, left the valleys and mountains of the Tchernaya, and returned to their old quarters near Balaklava. For some time the movements of the Turkish army were frequent, and apparently without any object. In the camps it was reported that an agreement existed between the allied generals and the Porte, that the Turks were not to take part in the siege. It is difficult to

understand such an arrangement; but the fact that the Turks merely occupied themselves with foraging, or sat in indolence for hours together, while the French and English worked laboriously in the trenches, seemed to countenance the idea.

Scarcely was the repulse of the allies known in England, when it was followed by the information that Lord Raglan was no more. After a few days' illness he sunk under an attack of dysentery, and expired on the evening of the 28th of June, in his sixty-seventh year. Notwithstanding his advanced age, no doubt can be entertained that mental anxiety contributed, to no small extent, to produce this unexpected catastrophe. The telegraphic information forwarded by his successor in command, reported—"Until four, P.M., on the 28th, his lordship had been progressing to the satisfaction of his medical attendants, when alarming symptoms developed themselves, attended with difficulty of breathing, which gradually increased. From five, P.M., he was unconscious, and from that period he gradually sank until twenty-five minutes before nine, at which hour he died." The old soldier, who had braved a violent death so often on the battle-field, expired peacefully and without any suffering, in the midst of the officers composing his personal staff.

A brief biographical notice of Lord Raglan has already been given in these pages: we will here attempt an estimate of his character as a British general. In doing so, we shall not permit any emotion of sympathy for his rather painful fate to prevent us from performing, as far as lies in us, the duty of an impartial historian. It is not our part to write his eulogy, but to speak critically of a public man, who occupied a highly prominent post in the sight not of England and France alone, but also of Europe and Asia. Lord Raglan's personal bravery was indisputable; to that, not Alma and Inkermann alone, but his whole career testified with a mute but yet incontrovertible eloquence. But his bravery was of the passive cast; he was a type of the calm, quiet English gentleman in war; imbued with a strict sense of duty, and ready to lay down his life in the performance of it. Moulded, indeed, in the school of his friend and patron the Duke of Wellington, of whom he was generally regarded as an imitator.

We must affirm that we do not think

* See Note to page 242 in Vol. IV.

Lord Raglan was of that nature which would have won high distinction without the stepping-stone of aristocratic birth and connexions. The conviction that he was not a great general is universal and uncontradicted. He could perform the ordinary duties of a general satisfactorily, but he was lamentably deficient in those qualities which constitute military genius. He possessed considerable professional experience, great application, and remarkable powers of endurance; but he lacked the energy, vehemence, and decision of character that are essential to the constitution of a successful and illustrious military chieftain. He was merciful in nature, amiable in disposition, gentle in his manners to those around him, though distant to his soldiers. But these qualities, however estimable in private men, are sometimes a positive failing in public ones, upon whose firmness, and perhaps even harshness in certain directions, the prosperity or lives of thousands depend. Hesitation in council, or slowness to action in a general, will instantly obscure all his private virtues. The dismal condition of our brave army in the Crimea, arising, to no small extent, from these defects of character in Lord Raglan, had dimmed his fame, and overthrown the popularity he acquired by the rapid and brilliant, though inconclusive, victory of the Alma.

Though Lord Raglan had won honours upon the battle-plain and "in the imminent deadly breach," yet his distinction was gained as much in the military cabinet as in the field. He officiated as chief secretary at the Horse-guards for very many years, and there became conversant with the forms, and habituated to the technicalities of our army system. He was injured by an over-education in this direction; and his mind became subdued to a system of routine which, however satisfactory during a time of peace, turned out to be not only useless, but extremely obstructive, in the trying exigencies which arise in the course of actual service. Lord Raglan had not an original cast of mind, but his mental character was the formation of a system. He was the result of an imperfect, worn-out, and fast-perishing military school; not the pioneer or creator of a new and better one. He looked with respect upon the past, but he had not the strength of vision requisite to gaze steadily into the future. He feared army reform, because he lacked the energy to conduct it steadily, and the iron hand to arrest it in

due time. He seemed to dread that change led only to still further change, and not to a more efficient state of things. A tory in politics—bred, indeed, in the highest school of tory politics—and attached by birth and education to the most exclusive branch of British aristocracy, it was but naturally to be expected that he should also be a tory in war. He fell into the patrician error of preserving bad things as they were, out of a respect for precedence and established custom; and, by so doing, he endangered the very existence of a noble British army, and even perilled the proud glory of the British empire.

His death, at the moment and under the circumstances in which it took place, was melancholy and rather painful. It is sad to behold a brave old man borne down to the grave by an overpowering weight of responsibilities and difficulties. Yet it may be truly said that Lord Raglan died honourably at his post, discharging his duties to the best of his ability, after a life spent industriously in the service of his country. That that ability was not of the highest order must not be his reproach, but rather that of those who placed him in a false position. He would have been well able to conduct a mere military demonstration against Russia; and it is evident enough, that that was all that the ministry of this country at first intended. When the country drifted, as if by some blind accident, into a gigantic war, it soon became apparent that Lord Raglan was painfully misplaced in the eminently responsible and dangerous position which aristocratic influence had assigned him. The truth must be spoken: the genius of history imperatively demands that; and, though it is generous to sympathise with the fate of Lord Raglan, it is but justice to say that his death, happening at the time it did, was rather an advantage than a loss to his country. A younger, stronger, sterner man was required to command the noble army of England, and to see that the glorious energy of her young blood, heroically panting for distinction, and longing to snatch bright laurels even from the grim hand of death, should not languish in inaction, suffer from exposure, cold, incredible labour and famine; and so sink and droop, and pine and die, in silence and obscurity, without honour and without result. That noble army, whose patience in suffering, no less than its heroism in battle, won the admiration of Europe, required for its leader

a warrior more fertile in expedient, more original in genius, more resolute in purpose, more terrible in action, more reckless in execution,—one who could rise to the dazzling height of the grand position in which he was placed, contemn difficulties with the majestic scorn of greatness, trample down obstacles, receive new strength from reverses, and with a steady foot and iron hand, win his way to victory, even (if necessary) through seas of blood and mountains of the dead. Mercy in war is folly; suavity is childishness. England must not fight for pastime, or fight with hesitation; with her, battle must be a raging struggle, ending in death or victory. If not this, then never stain the holy robe of Peace with sanguinary spots: it is the braggart's part to draw the sword for show and not for use. We would do the utmost to shun war; but if it is inevitable, then let it be war in earnest. If it is war in earnest, we must have blood—blood enough to drown Russian ambition; blood enough to make the northern tyranny remember the terrible vengeance of the foes she had aroused; blood enough to make her, in years to come, shrink from a repetition of her crimes; and, when she begins again to harbour new designs of rapacious conquest, shudder and grow cold at heart as the fear passes before her, like a hideous and threatening spectre, that attempts to crush the weaker nations around her may lead again to the awful deeds of vengeance showered with remorseless retribution upon her guilty head.*

The question, "Who shall succeed Lord Raglan as commander-in-chief in the Crimea?" was asked, both at the camp and at home, with considerable anxiety. Lieutenant-general Simpson, hitherto chief of the staff, being the officer next in seniority of rank present with the army, assumed the command until he should hear further from the British government. This gentleman

* The following Russian estimate of Lord Raglan, extracted from a letter dated St. Petersburg, and published in *Le Nord*, is not without interest, as it displays a feeling of lofty generosity for a noble foe:—"Lord Raglan has died. During the entire period of the command of this noble general, he succeeded in conciliating the esteem and respect not only of those with whom his nation was allied, but also of the enemy to whom he was opposed. He was one of the last of the heroes of that glorious English army, which, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, illustrated the English name on so many battle-fields, and of which the few remaining veterans bore on their breasts, till lately, the honourable tokens. Lord Raglan was, on several occasions, distinguished by the late Emperor Nicholas, as also by the reigning emperor. He will be

bore the reputation of having been a very efficient and popular colonel when in command of the 29th foot; but for some years, until appointed chief of the staff in the Crimea, his active duties were confined to the command of the garrison at Portsmouth. He was under sixty years of age, generally esteemed, was considered to possess a sound judgment, and to be at least equal in military talent to the other candidates for the command. In this lay our misfortune: there was no officer whose conspicuous merits were such that public opinion could point to him and say—"That is the man!" Forty years of peace had left our generals all in the decadence of life and energy—had changed them into men whose conduct would be guided rather by a memory of what was, than by a judgment of what should be: it was not so they gained their reputations; but we must submit to the decree of nature, by which in age the strength of man is weakened, his activity lessened, and his judgment impaired. If, as the firm brain grows soft, even wisdom often trembles at length on the verge of dotage, it is not surprising that among our old generals uncertainty should intrude on decision, and procrastination usurp the seat of enterprise. The young heroes of England, the men who possessed the qualities out of which great generals could be made, were as yet untried, and therefore regarded with a natural diffidence. War, however, in time makes the sort of men requisite to carry it on with success. It is to men in the summer of life that England must look for her victories; and one of them, young and previously unknown—we mean the gallant Captain Lyons—reaped her first naval triumph in this war.

Several officers were spoken of, in conjunction with General Simpson, as having claims upon the rank of chief command in personally regretted in Russia by all who had an opportunity of knowing and appreciating the nobleness of his sentiments and the uprightness of his character. As a subject, he performed his duty by obeying the command of his sovereign; and as a soldier, he valiantly defended the honour of his flag; but even in the execution of his duty, he preserved unblemished to his death his own personal dignity and that of his country. He has fallen, like so many others, a victim to this disastrous war. Honoured be his memory, and respected be his grave, which will be as sacred on the soil of Russia as on that of England; and, while pointing to it, no Russian will refuse to say—*Siste, viator, heroum calces.*" The writer of this letter appears to have been unaware that the body of Lord Raglan was to be conveyed to England for interment.

the Crimea. Sir George Brown was a brave man, but a martinet, and but little confidence was reposed in his military genius. Sir Richard England was next in rank, but his abilities as a general were not such as to warrant the assumption that he had any chance of succeeding to the vacant post. Beyond these, the names of Sir Colin Campbell, General Eyre, and General Codrington were sometimes spoken of in the camp, as having claims to the chieftainship; but all routine precedent was against the elevation of either of them, whatever their talents as generals, over the heads of those superior to them in military rank. There were also a few men in England whose names were sometimes mentioned in connexion with this subject; none of whom, however, approached the standard we have spoken of, as being the man required for the exigencies of the times. Of these we may enumerate the Duke of Cambridge, who though personally brave, was deficient in experience; Lord Hardinge, whose advanced age put him out of the question; Lord Gough, who had refused the command once, and who was not therefore likely to accept it when offered a second time; and Sir de Lacy Evans, of whom it must be said that he was one of the heroes whose sun was too near setting for him to enter on so gigantic a labour. The question flashes forcibly upon every mind—Does England, in her need, lack gifted sons to help her; or do the forms of our military service keep such men from rising to their just and legitimate position?

On the 3rd of July, the queen sent a message to both houses of parliament, expressing a desire to confer some signal mark of her favour on the widow and eldest son of the late Lord Raglan, and recommending the adoption of such measures as were necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose. The peers replied in an address to her majesty, assuring her that they cheerfully concurred in any measures which should be esteemed appropriate. Laudatory addresses on the career and fate of Lord Raglan—of the nature of funeral orations—were delivered by lords Panmure, Hardinge, and Brougham; the dukes of Cambridge and Beaufort; and the earls of Derby, Cardigan, Galloway, Granville, and Ellesmere. In the Commons, Lord Palmerston proposed (as it was understood that the departed warrior had not left his family in very affluent circumstances) that a pension

of £1,000 a-year should be granted to Lady Raglan for her life, with a pension of £2,000 a-year to the eldest son and to his successor to the title. This was seconded by Mr. Disraeli in the following brief and eloquent speech, which we present as a model of judicious oratory of this nature, and also as presenting a different view of Lord Raglan's military character, to the one sketched by our own pen:—"I rise to second the resolution of the noble lord, and I doubt not it will receive the unanimous acceptance and approbation of the house. Half a century of public service, always noble, sometimes illustrious, cannot be permitted to pass away without the record and recognition of a nation's gratitude. The career of Lord Raglan was remarkable. Forty years ago he sealed with his blood the close of a triumphant struggle against universal empire. After so long an interval, it has been his fate to give his life to his country, in order to avert from it the menace of a new and overwhelming dominion. The qualities of Lord Raglan were remarkable; and it may be doubted whether they can be easily supplied. What most distinguished him, perhaps, was an elevation and serenity of mind which invested him, as it were, with a heroic and classical repose—which permitted him to bring to the management of men, and to the transaction of great affairs, the magic influence of character; and which, in his case, often accomplished results which are usually achieved by the inspiration of genius. Never was there an instance where valour of the highest temper was so happily and so signally blended with so disciplined a discretion. Courage and caution were never so united, and each quality in so high a degree. Over the tomb of departed greatness criticism should be mute; yet we may be permitted to observe, that the course of events has already sanctioned the judgment of this commander with respect to those difficulties with which it was his hard fate to cope, and which his country regrets, but which he neither chose nor created. May those who follow him encounter happier fortunes! They cannot meet a more glorious end. There is nothing more admirable than self-sacrifice to public duty. This was the principle which guided the life of Somerset; this was the principle which hallowed his end." The proposition of the premier, with respect to the pensions, was unanimously agreed to.

It would, we think, have been well to bury the departed general in the scene of his last labours, and amongst the remains of the many brave men who had perished under his command. The sod of the battlefield is the most honourable sepulchre for the dead soldier; and a generous enemy would always regard the spot as sacred. It was, however, decided to bring the corpse of Lord Raglan to England, and place it in the vault containing the remains of his ancestors. On the 3rd of July, it was removed from head-quarters to Kazatch Bay, and placed on board the *Caradoc*, which left the same evening for England. It was conducted to the vessel by an imposing military procession, composed of as many of the allied troops as could be spared from duty in the trenches, and with safety to the camps. The coffin, covered with a black pall, fringed with white silk and the union-jack, and surmounted by the late field-marshal's cocked hat and sword, and a garland of *immortelles*, placed there by General Pelissier, was carried on a platform, fixed upon a 9-pounder gun, and drawn by horses of Captain Thomas's troop of royal horse artillery. General Pelissier, his highness Omar Pasha, General Della Marmora, and General Simpson, the commanders-in-chief of the four allied armies, rode at the wheels of the gun-carriage. The bands of the 3rd, 9th, and 62nd regiments, played the "Dead March;" and two field batteries, stationed on the hill opposite the house, fired a salute of nineteen guns as the procession moved off. On the wharf at Kazatch Bay, the body was received by Admiral Bruat, Rear-admiral Stewart, and a large number of officers of the combined fleets. The launch of the British flag-ship, towed by men-of-war boats, conveyed the coffin to the *Caradoc*. It was followed by an escort of the boats of the combined fleets; and the troop and battery of the royal artillery, included in the procession, formed upon the rising ground above the bay, and fired a salute of nineteen guns as the coffin left the shore. "Thus," said General Simpson, in his despatch relating these circumstances, "terminated the last honours that could be paid by his troops to their beloved commander. His loss to us is inexpressible, and will, I am sure, be equally felt by his country at home. The sympathy of our allies is universal and sincere. His name and memory are all that remain to animate us in the difficulties and dangers to which we may be called."

The *Caradoc* did not arrive at Bristol until Tuesday, the 24th of July. Great preparations for a demonstration of respect for the dead warrior, had been made by the inhabitants of the town. Early the next morning the corpse was landed with much ceremony, and amid the muffled peal of church bells and the roar of cannon. An immense number of flags were displayed, half-mast high, along the route of the procession; and many of the house-fronts and principal buildings were hung with black cloth and other funeral decorations. The procession consisted of a squadron of Blues, a squadron of the 15th hussars, a battery of field artillery (about 200 strong), the enrolled pensioners of the district, some of the land-transport corps (then training at Bristol), a few officers from the Crimea, wearing medals proudly on their breasts, and a number of Peninsular veterans, decorated with a profusion of clasps. These brave old officers had come forward to add their weight of honour to the occasion. Before the plumed canopy which preceded the hearse, the coronet of the deceased was carried by his servant on horseback. After the hearse came the escort of Blues, followed by the mourning coaches conveying the staff and relatives of the deceased. At the close of the military part of the procession, the mayor and corporation rode in twenty-four carriages; then the Society of Merchant Venturers, also in carriages, with their banner in front, borne by a party of seamen; after them the "Corporation of the Poor;" then the clergy of Bristol; and, finally, a long column of the inhabitants, chiefly "Odd-fellows" or "Foresters," formed six deep. The procession, when completed, extended over a space nearly two miles in length. It proceeded to a place called the Fishponds, where it terminated, and the hearse, attended only by the mourning coaches, went on to Badminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, nephew of the deceased nobleman. During the morning of Thursday, the 26th, the body lay in state in the great hall of Badminton-house, where it was visited by large numbers of the gentry and inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood. In the afternoon it was conveyed to the ancestral vault of the family in the church at Badminton, and solemnly consigned to the vault where it now rests, with a wreath of laurel, and the *immortelle* placed over it by the French general Pelissier, lying upon the coffin.

CHAPTER IX.

ADDRESS OF THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY; ENGLISH OFFICIAL INHUMANITY, AND DEATH OF MR. STOWE; SINGULAR CONFESSION OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL; STORM OF CENSURE AGAINST HIM; NOTICE OF MOTION BY SIR E. B. LYTON OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT; STARTLING NOTICE OF MOTION BY MR. ROEBUCK; LORD JOHN RUSSELL AGAIN RESIGNS; DEBATE OF MR. ROEBUCK'S MOTION, AND ITS REJECTION; PARLIAMENTARY CONTEST RESPECTING THE TURKISH LOAN; THE QUEEN REVIEWS THE FOREIGN LEGION AT SHORNCLIFFE; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT; THE QUEEN AND ROYAL FAMILY RETURN THE VISIT OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

THE Emperor of the French opened the Legislative Assembly at Paris on the 2nd of July, and addressed to it one of those clear, convincing, and aphoristic orations which put to the blush the elaborate no-meaning of many, if not most, of our speeches from the throne. It reviewed the shuffling, hollow conduct of Austria towards the allies; exposed the insufficiency and uselessness of its equivocating propositions; appealed with confidence to Frenchmen for support; bestowed a becoming tribute of admiration on the soldiers; addressed itself to the dignity, nationality, generosity, and ambition of the people; and finally, left the issue, with calm trustiness, in the hands of the God of Battles and the Lord of Peace.

The speech of the emperor ran as follows:—

“Messieurs les Sénateurs, Messieurs les Députés,—The diplomatic negotiations commenced during the course of our last session already made you foresee that I should be obliged to call you together when they came to a termination. Unhappily, the conferences of Vienna have failed in procuring peace, and I come again to appeal to the patriotism of the country and to your own. Were we wanting in moderation in settling the conditions? I do not fear to examine the question before you.

“One year already had passed since the commencement of the war, and already France and England had saved Turkey, gained two battles, forced Russia to evacuate the principalities, and to exhaust her forces in the defence of the Crimea. We had, moreover, in our favour the adhesion of Austria and the moral approbation of the rest of Europe. In that situation the cabinet of Vienna asked us if we would consent to treat upon bases vaguely formulated. Before our successes a refusal on our part seemed natural. Was it not to be supposed, forsooth, that the demands of

France and England would increase in proportion to the greatness of the struggle and of the sacrifices already made?

“Well, France and England did not turn their advantages to account, or even make the most of the rights given to them by previous treaties, so much had they at heart to facilitate peace and to give an unchallengeable proof of their moderation. We restricted ourselves to ask, in the interests of Germany, the free navigation of the Danube, and a breakwater against the Russian flood which continually obstructed the mouths of that great river. We demanded, in the interests of Austria and of Germany, a better constitution for the Danubian principalities, that they might serve as a barrier against these repeated invasions of the north. We demanded, in the interest of humanity and of justice, the same guarantees for the Christians of every confession under the exclusive protection of the sultan. In the interests of the Porte, as well as in those of Europe, we demanded that Russia should limit to a reasonable degree, sufficient to shield her against any attack, the number of her ships in the Black Sea, a number which she could only maintain with an aggressive object. Well, all these propositions, which I may call magnanimous from their disinterestedness, and which were approved in principle by Austria, by Prussia, and by Russia herself, have evaporated in the conferences. Russia, who had consented, in theory, to put an end to her preponderance in the Black Sea, has refused every limitation of her naval forces, and we have still to wait for Austria to fulfil her engagements, which consisted in rendering our treaty of alliance offensive and defensive if the negotiations failed. Austria, it is true, proposed to us to guarantee with her by treaty the independence of Turkey, and to consider for the future as a *casus belli* an increase of the number of Russian ships of war exceeding

that before the commencement of hostilities. To accept such a proposition was impossible, for it in no manner bound Russia; and, on the contrary, we should apparently have sanctioned her preponderance in the Black Sea by treaty.

"The war had to follow its course. The admirable devotion of the army and navy will, I trust, soon lead to a happy result. It is for you to provide me with the means to continue the struggle. The country has already shown what resources it has at its command, and the confidence it places in me. Some months since it offered me 1,700,000,000 francs more than I demanded. A portion of that sum will suffice to maintain its military honour and its rights as a great nation. I had resolved to go and place myself in the midst of that valiant army, where the presence of the sovereign could not have failed to produce a happy influence, and, a witness of the heroic efforts of our soldiers, I should have been proud to lead them; but serious questions agitated abroad, which have always remained pending, and the nature of circumstances demanded at home new and important measures. It is, therefore, with regret that I abandoned the idea. My government will propose to you to vote the annual recruitment bill; there will be no extraordinary levy, and the bill will take the usual course necessary for the regularity of the administration of a recruitment bill. In conclusion, gentlemen, let us pay here, solemnly, a just tribute of praise to those who fight for the country; let us mingle our regrets for those whose loss we have to deplore. So great an example of unselfishness and constancy will not have been given in vain to the world. Let us not be discouraged by the sacrifices

which are necessary; for, as you are aware, a nation must either abdicate every political character, or, if it possesses the instinct and the will to act conformably to its generous nature, to its historical traditions, to its providential mission, it must learn how to support at times the trials which alone can retemper it, and restore it to the rank which is its due. Faith in the Almighty, perseverance in our efforts, and we shall obtain a peace worthy of the alliance of two great nations."

This speech produced a considerable sensation in central Europe; its plainness was censured by some politicians, who thought that frankness should not be studied by royal lips. They considered it too argumentative for a crowned head addressing his parliament, and described it as an *exposé* that was more suitable to the tribune than the throne. The Austrian ambassador must have felt abashed, not only at the polite rebuke administered to his court, but also by the thunders of applause with which those observations were received. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with that delicacy which would refrain from wounding the national pride of such an abandoned trickster as Austria: we have an old-fashioned prejudice that language was given to men for the purpose of uttering their thoughts, and not concealing them. Evasion had made Austria contemptible, and Napoleon did not study to conceal that he shared towards that state the feeling held by almost every inhabitant of France and England. He declared in effect, that if Austria ever intended to strike, she must do so at once, or, to use his own words, she must "abdicate every political character."* To do that, is for a great nation to lose its individuality

* The following remarkable passage from a letter by an Austrian officer, presumed to be tolerably conversant with the views of the imperial court, explains to some extent the diffidence and timidity of that power:—"So, you see, Austria is prepared; money only fails us (for we are poor devils) to keep these armies, and also another of 300,000 men in the country for any length of time; and that we shall be obliged to do when we commence war with Russia; this will then last at least several years. But what has England and France to carry on the war with energy against Russia? You have carried on the war already a year in vain, but that is very natural, for with 100,000 men one ought not to begin war with Russia; with the Turks you only have 150,000 men in the Crimea; with this force one cannot conquer Russia; but England cannot make greater exertions than she has already made. Your foreign legion comes not together, and when it should so it will only be 20,000 men more. But that is

nothing. It is true you have a fine fleet, but that cannot be dangerous to Russia [we entertain a different opinion: our blockade is a blow at the heart of the empire]; it cannot sail to Moscow; and France, it is true, can render more; but the government stands on weak feet. As long as that Napoleon sits on the throne it is good, but there is more than one Pianori in Mazzini's army, and Napoleon's successor is a friend of his (Mazzini.) He (Napoleon) wishes to make Poland, Hungary, and Italy free. A certain *brochure* concerning the war in the Crimea shows that his political views are only too well known. As to the other allies, Turkey and Piedmont, they are not worth mentioning. Tell me, my dear old friend, can Austria commence a war with Russia under such circumstances? At least she would have to carry on the war by herself, and would have in France, instead of support, a new enemy to expect. These are reasons that speak aloud for themselves. Austria must wish for peace, and this wish is strengthened by the last Polish de-

and sink into a level with those petty states which, like satellites around a mighty orb, depend for safety and existence upon some powerful neighbouring empire. The popularity of the government of the emperor was sufficiently attested by the fact, that the subscriptions to the loan for which he applied to his people, reached in a few days to the extraordinary sum of 3,600,000,000 francs. A sum five times greater than the government demanded was thus pressed upon its acceptance.

Our readers will remember that, after Mr. Macdonald, in consequence of ill-health, was compelled to give up the administration of the *Times*' fund for the relief of our sick and wounded soldiers at Scutari and at the camp, that another gentleman was sent out by that establishment, with a further sum of £15,000 for the same purpose. This was Mr. Stowe, a gentleman and a scholar; a first-class man of Oxford, and a fellow of Oriel college. With singular powers of application, he was described as possessing tenacity of memory, exactness of judgment, playfulness of wit, and quickness of sympathy. During the absence of Mr. Russell with the Kertch expedition, Mr. Stowe wrote to the *Times* the long and excellent account contained in that journal of the action of the 7th of June and the capture of the Mamelon. Unhappily, Mr. Stowe possessed but a feeble constitution, united to an energetic and somewhat excitable mind. Exposure to the burning sun, the monstration. This has only awakened mistrust in Austria towards her allies, and will damage the common work more than it has done it good. The restoration of Poland can only be brought about by a general war and with an understanding with Austria. I believe Austria would not be exactly against it, only she must be indemnified for Galicia—say, the principalities of the Danube for it. It would be even advantageous if a strong kingdom, to be a first-rate power, could be set up against Russia, instead of that weak Prussia, which at present is really a vassal kingdom to Russia. To carry on a war for the restoration of Poland, then, the greatest exertions would have to be made. England has much money, but few soldiers; on the other hand, Austria has many soldiers, but little money—therefore for England to have 100,000 more soldiers she must subsidise Austria at least with £10,000,000 a-year [this we trust she will never do; England must not increase Austria's power to do mischief, and give her the means of throwing her sword into which scale she pleases], and France must at least find another 100,000 men; in that case, one would be safe against Prussia, who, in that case, would be sure to go with Russia, and, as she would have to give back her Polish provinces, she would have the most to lose, and besides would lose her position as a great power. Naturally after this war

asperities of camp life, the want of comforts, which were aggravated by the desertion of his servant, told quickly upon him, and on the 16th, he was so ill that he applied, through the medium of a friend, for admission into one of the hospitals on the heights. In consequence of an expected influx of military patients, an order had been given not to admit any civilians. Though the pressure was not likely to be so great in the hospital of the marines, where application was made, yet Dr. Hall caused the order to be strictly observed, and Mr. Stowe was carried down in the sun to the church at Balaklava, where, after a few days, he died. With a generous and proper indignation, the editor of the *Times* observed:—"When so many men have fallen, it is vain to lavish more regrets on a solitary example. The event has led to a determination in which we hope to have the concurrence of our supporters. We shall not send out another friend, another valuable life, to a service in which, among other dangers, British inhumanity is to be encountered. Whoever goes out to administer our fund, must expect that, in the event of his sickening in the crowd, he will be excluded from the hospitals where he is sent to minister, and deprived of the medical aid which he has, perhaps, assisted with the most needful supplies. Helpless and agonised with disease, Mr. Stowe was refused admission into hospitals in which many hundreds of patients have abundantly received and thankfully the map of Europe would receive quite another face; the powers that carried on the war would indemnify themselves—England by colonies, France by taking the left bank of the Rhine, Austria by Bessarabia and the Danubian principalities, Turkey, for the loss of the above, with the Caucasian lands, Sweden (if she assisted) by Finland. Russia, then, after the war, would be greatly weakened, and never more in a position to molest others; so then only the restoration of Poland can permanently weaken Russia, and nothing else. This must then be the aim of the war; otherwise it will be useless. If England and France give up the war now, Russia will be more powerful than before, for she has now all sympathy in Turkey, and will, as opportunity offers, make use of it. One should observe what Hungary would be—free; she is too small to remain independent, and would be to-day or to-morrow a booty to Russia, in the same manner as it became Austria's, and before that Turkey's. Italy is quite as incapable of being independent and governing itself—it was never united, and never a single kingdom. The former Romans were no Italians. So, only Poland can be made free, because it is a nation of more than 20,000,000 of inhabitants, and possesses more than 15,000 German square miles. So, perhaps, your Western Powers would rather give up the war without the restoration of Poland."

acknowledged the assistance of the *Times'* fund."

In this country public opinion was much divided respecting the objects of the war, its chances of ultimate success, and the sufficiency of the Palmerston ministry to carry it on in such a manner as would lead to an honourable conclusion. Some, indeed, even suspected the honesty of the English government, and declared that it had too strong a leaning in favour of the high aristocratic feeling, of which Russia was the head and representative, to be earnestly desirous of truly humbling that power. Lord Palmerston had gained popularity by talking liberalism, but he had acted conservatism; though a whig by profession, he was suspected of being a tory by inclination. Such a man was not the one to seize any opportunity that offered of striking a blow at the heart of the Russian empire; and it had now become abundantly evident that Russia was not to be intimidated out of her course by warlike demonstrations, or compelled to abandon her designs by blows that probably caused her more irritation than injury. Many thought that peace, even without glory, was better than an irresolute, protracted, and profitless war.

Feelings of this kind gave rise, at home,

* The warlike speech of Lord John Russell, frequently referred to in the debate upon his conduct, was delivered on the 24th of May. Our political readers will feel interested in the following selections from it, which are singularly opposed to the sentiments he uttered on the 6th of July:—"I quite agree with my right honourable friend (Mr. Gladstone), that never has the character of English soldiers for valour and for the power of enduring hardships stood so high as during the present war; and therefore it would not be for military successes that I should continue the war. But at the same time, if the want of success at Sebastopol led to a failure in obtaining one of the main securities of peace, the danger of Turkey for the future would be greatly aggravated, because it would be said, not only have England and France relinquished the terms of one of the articles—not only have they relinquished terms which Austria declared to be just and reasonable, while she said that the Russian propositions did not at all comply with them,—but, in addition to that, they have withdrawn an army of from 150,000 to 200,000 men from the Crimea, without having obtained a success. I think that would be a great addition, not only to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, but also to her preponderance all over the world. If you had a security for peace, if you had that which men would acknowledge as a safeguard for Turkey, you might then with all honour withdraw your whole French and British forces from the Crimea; but if, in addition to a failure in your terms, you admitted a failure in your military success, and withdrew your armies, the power of Russia would be immensely increased." . . . "Now, sir,

to a parliamentary struggle in connexion with the war of which, at least, it could not be said that it was of too moderate a character, and in the course of which it came to light that not only the country, but the cabinet also, were divided as to the expediency and necessity of the war. When Lord John Russell returned from the conferences at Vienna (*see* page 118), it was rumoured that he had become a convert to the doctrine that the war was neither just nor necessary, and that he had promised the Austrian minister to use his influence with his colleagues to induce them to accept the peaceable views of Austria upon the subject. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French plenipotentiary, who is said to have shared the same views, resigned his office on finding that he had not the concurrence of his government. Not so Lord John Russell; with peace in his heart, he still carried war on his lips, and acted with a ministry who had repeatedly pledged themselves to carry on the war with vigour. He even delivered one of his most warlike and exciting speeches; and although many questions were put to him in parliament on the subject of his rumoured change of opinion, they failed in extracting from him a plain statement on the point.* In a circular what has been the position of Russia? That which did not justify us, which would not have excited us to make war, but which, being at war, it behoves us all most seriously to consider. Russia has, since the commencement of the century, increased more than any other of the powers of Europe. She has upwards of 60,000,000 of inhabitants; she has an army of 800,000 men. I speak of a time of peace, and before the outbreak of the present war; she was allowed after a considerable struggle, and much resistance by Lord Castlereagh, acting as the representative of this country, and Prince Talleyrand, as the representative of France, to acquire Poland—the only limitation being, that Poland was united to Russia by a constitution; but that difference, which gave to Poland a separate representative, a separate army, and as it were, a separate national existence—that link was totally broken, and the hard fetter of iron was employed to bind her to Russia after the insurrection of 1831. In Poland she had erected six or seven fortresses of a strength at least equal to that of Sebastopol. She has conciliated the peasantry to a very great extent, by a policy artfully adapted to that purpose, and at the same time the young men of Poland of rank and influence, who, filled with historic recollections and patriotic ardour, might be suspected against an inclination to rise against the power of Russia,—those young men are carefully watched and marked, and are selected to send to a distance in the interior provinces of Russia, where they meet with no sympathy, where their names are unknown, and where they are forgotten by all but their relatives and friends in their own country. In the Baltic, we

addressed by Count Buol to the diplomatic agents of Austria, that statesman observed, in reference to the peaceable views of his cabinet, that "the ministers of France and England, in a confidential interview, showed themselves decidedly inclined towards our proposal."

At length, on the 6th of July, Mr. Gibson rose in the house to ask for explanations from the government in reference to this statement of Count Buol's. He wished to know on what ground the ministry were opposed to the peaceable views of their colleague? In allusion to a recent prolonged and profitless debate upon the war, he observed, that the house then came to a unanimous vote to carry it on; but, he inquired, was it clear that they would have come to that vote if important facts that had now peeped out indirectly, through public documents from other countries, had been put into their possession? He thought that Lord John Russell went to Vienna with the *bona fide* intention of making an honourable peace, but his colleagues appeared to entertain different views. Therefore, he asked, how could that nobleman reconcile the retention of office in the government, if he still retained the opinions he expressed at Vienna?

Lord John Russell replied by referring in

found last year, and since the commencement of the present war, plans of great fortifications, which had been commenced, and which, if completed, would, as Sir Charles Napier, who sent them home, said, have given Russia the most complete predominance over the Baltic; that when those fortifications should have been completed, neither Denmark nor Sweden, nor any other power, could have held up a finger against Russia in the Baltic Sea. In Germany she is connected with many of the smaller princes by marriage. Many of the princes of Germany, I am sorry to say, live in great fear of what they think the revolutionary disposition of their subjects, and rely on their armed forces for protection. But what are those armed forces? The officers of those forces are seduced and corrupted by the Russian court. That court distributes rewards, orders, and distinctions among them; and in some cases, where the receipt of money to pay debts will be accepted, that money has been liberally given by the Russian court; and that Germany which ought to be in a state of independence—Germany which should stand forward for the protection of Europe—has been corrupted and undermined in its vital strength and independence by Russian arts and Russian means. Well, sir, I have not yet spoken of the immediate danger with which we have to deal. After a long course of violence and oppression, Russia had signed a treaty at Adrianople, which gave new powers, and confirmed many of the old. The dangers of that treaty to Turkey are admirably pointed out in the despatch of the Earl of Aberdeen, but neither the Earl of Aber-

deen, nor the Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the ministry, thought it right, on account of those dangers, to go to war, and they acted wisely in abstaining therefrom. But, now that we are at war, we ought not to forget the lesson which the Earl of Aberdeen gave us, or neglect to guard against the dangers which he so well pointed out in that despatch. Russia had, therefore, great means of influence in Turkey—such means, that I believe, had she been prudent, were quite sufficient for her purposes to gain a predominant control over the councils of the sultan. But in consequence of the imprudence—I will not say more—of the great sovereign who ruled her,—he is dead, and his time is passed,—in insisting upon what Turkey thought degrading, an aggression was made; Turkey resisted that aggression, and, judging from the offers of sympathy and support she had received from France and Great Britain, that she would be supported in the struggle, she had recourse to arms in her defence. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a man well acquainted with the whole subject, had said some time before, 'I think the time has come when the position of Turkey must be entirely altered; she will either fall into a state of total dependence on Russia, or else she must get rid of those manacles and shackles by which for years past she has been fettered and bound.' The question, then, was, whether we should leave her to be completely under the sway of Russia as a subject, or endeavour to raise her to something higher. She chose the latter part; and it became us, therefore, first to consider the immediate danger."

accepted; and I said to Count Buol, that I could assure him, and that he could convey that assurance to the Emperor of Austria, that I would lay the case before the cabinet of this country, and that I would use my best endeavours to put those propositions in such a light that they might hope for their adoption. That promise I certainly performed. I stated to my government every detail of the propositions of which I was the bearer. I said that I had not the written propositions, but that, if they should be considered fit to form a basis for agreement, I had no doubt the Austrian minister at this court would furnish all the details of the articles to be proposed. I must say that the propositions were deliberately considered by the cabinet. Everything that I stated had, I must say, due weight, and was fairly placed in opposition to the disadvantage of such a peace. The government came to the conclusion that the peace proposed would not be a safe peace, and that they could not recommend its adoption." In conclusion, Lord John observed, in depreciation of the condemnation which he anticipated his vacillating conduct would provoke—"I will not say that these affairs—important as they are, involving such great consequences, bearing upon the position of England in the world, bearing upon her internal fate and the maintenance of her institutions—have not cost me many painful reflections. I have made the best decision, which, with my lights, I have been able to make. That decision may be contested. It may be said by many, that I betrayed the interests of my country when I told Count Buol I was ready to agree to these terms—not officially, but to recommend them to the government. It may be said, that having so declared my concurrence, I ought to have persisted to the end, and to have resigned office immediately those terms were not agreed to. Upon either of these grounds I am liable to be cast, and I have no reason to complain of the censure. I have made a fair statement to the house of my conduct and my motives, and I leave the house to pass judgment upon them."

To this confession of the once fiery advocate of the war—that though acting with a ministry pledged to carry on the war with vigour, he was himself in favour of peace,—Mr. Cobden replied in a tone of the sternest and most caustic rebuke. Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Disraeli also spoke in a similar strain. The latter, in alluding to the dif-

ferences of opinion between Lord John Russell and the other members of the cabinet, observed—"They did not agree with the policy which he recommended. They decided upon a course totally adverse to that he wished to sanction. They decided on a course no less important than the prosecution of that war which, in his opinion, ought to have been terminated. The noble lord accedes to the suggestions of his colleagues. He remains in the cabinet of which he was previously a member during the negotiations; he remains in that cabinet—a *minister of peace and of war*—and, as a member of that cabinet, he recommends the vigorous prosecution of that war in his place in this house." Mr. Disraeli further considered that such a question as peace or war ought not to be an open one in the cabinet; and he asked whether, after the extraordinary revelation of the minister, the house was for peace or war? Nor was it in the House of Commons alone that the irresolute and double-sided conduct of Lord John Russell met with reprehension. The press generally condemned his conduct; and the *Times*, in repeated leaders, thundered its loudest against him. "Lord John Russell," said that journal, "was sustaining two characters; outwardly, the indignant plenipotentiary; inwardly, the disappointed cabinet minister; outwardly, the peacemaker who had done his best to secure Austria and tame Russia; inwardly, the patriot grieving over the fatal obstinacy of his own country and its rulers; to the eye and the ear denouncing Russia and surrendering Austria to the hard judgment of British politicians, inwardly regarding Queen Victoria and her advisers as the only obstacles to the peace of Europe."

The storm of censure which Lord J. Russell had drawn down upon himself, was followed up by a notice of motion by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, of a want of confidence in the government. It was to this effect:—"That the conduct of the minister charged with the negotiations at Vienna, and his continuance in office as a responsible adviser of the crown, have shaken the confidence which the country should place in those to whom the administration of public affairs is entrusted."

Matters looked threateningly for the government. Before Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of his motion, Mr. Roebuck had, on the 22nd of June, given notice of his intention to move the following startling resolu-

tion :—"That this house, deeply lamenting the sufferings of the army in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of their committee, that the conduct of the administration was the first and chief cause of those misfortunes, hereby visits with its severe reprehension *every member of the cabinet whose counsels led to such disastrous results.*" This motion, referring to the late ministry, most of the members of which sat in the cabinet with Lord Palmerston, was suggested to Mr. Roebuck by the evidence taken before the committee of inquiry into the condition of the troops before Sebastopol, and assumed the character of a threat of impeachment.

It was arranged that Sir E. B. Lytton's motion should be first considered; but on Friday, the 13th of July, Lord John Russell anticipated the almost certain verdict of the house against him by tendering his resignation as a member of the cabinet. Irresolute to the last—a very political Hamlet,—it is said that he was still hesitating between yielding to the pressure of public opinion against him on the one side, and on the other the invitation of his colleagues to remain where he was; when six members of the government in the house, not included in the cabinet, intimated their inability to resist Sir E. B. Lytton's motion, and their determination to resign unless Lord John Russell did. These members were understood to be—the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, Sir Benjamin Hall, Sir J. Shelley, Mr. Bouverie, and Mr. Horsman. The resignation of Lord John Russell produced all the effect that could have been anticipated from the motion of Sir E. B. Lytton, with the exception of the censure that must have fallen upon him during the discussion. The motion, however, was persevered in, and thus made, by implication, to include the question whether the government had justly incurred the censure of parliament by permitting Lord John Russell to retain his seat after the disclosure of his conduct at Vienna, and his trifling with the question in the House of Commons.

On Monday, the 16th, the House of Commons was filled by the most numerous and expectant audience that had assembled within its walls that session. Lord John Russell, anticipating Sir E. B. Lytton, rose to deliver an explanation of his conduct. This explanation did not alter the aspect of affairs, or clear the tarnished reputation of the falling statesman. He denied that he

had pledged himself to use his influence with the government to accept the propositions of Austria, but he had laid them before the cabinet, and he believed that they might afford the means of combining all the powers of Europe against the future aggressions of Russia, and of placing Turkey in a secure position. He endeavoured to justify his advocacy, on his return from Vienna, of carrying on an uncompromising war, though he thought peace should be made; because, after the rejection of the Austrian propositions, he conceived he had no other course. Many persons, he said, seemed to have a notion that there were two abstract things—one peace and the other war; and that they must be, under all circumstances, either for one or the other. He thought that peace was generally desirable, but not always so; there were instances in which war was a necessity. Sir E. B. Lytton (continued Lord John) was of opinion that, because he took the view that the Austrian proposals might have been accepted, that he must be ever after incapable of serving her majesty with respect to carrying on the war. That impression seemed generally to prevail; but he did not himself see the logic of that proposition, or the justice of its conclusion. He had, however, in consequence, tendered his resignation. "And now, sir," said he in conclusion, "let me say, that having taken that course, I do not feel that I am at all discontented with the position in which I stand. I see no reason to be so. In the first place, I have always acted for what I believe to be the benefit of the country. I have thought over these questions again and again, with a view to the public interest, and I have advised that which I have considered expedient for the country, and I have refrained from advising that which was disapproved, or rather, I should say, that which did not obtain the concurrence of those who generally held the same views as myself, and who were acting with me in the same administration. I have felt that, in the position which I have occupied at various times, that I have found many true and attached friends; and I must say, that I have every reason to thank them for their confidence and support. Others there certainly are, of a different class,—

"——— Those you make friends
And give your hearts to; when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye, never found again
But when they mean to sink ye.

npc

65868

